

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

"First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear"

The Monitor's view

Monday, August 8, 1977

Of Africa and U.S. arms

Growing restiveness in northeastern Africa continues to give cause for concern. This is because of the brush-fire conflicts that already have erupted and because of the potential for additional regional involvement by the big powers as arms suppliers.

Thus far, Egypt and Libya have indulged in a short but sharp shooting affray on their mutual boundary that may or may not have been halted by a cease-fire. Somalia and Ethiopia have clashed in the disputed eastern Ogaden area. Sudan and Ethiopia have exchanged fire and accusations on their borders, and Sudan's President Nimeiry also has accused Libya's President Qaddafi of attempting to overthrow him. Just to round out the picture of a thoroughly troubled area, Chad, which normally is almost lost in Saharan silence, claims Libya has been trying to foment a rebellion in its northern territory.

Such disputes, any one of which still could boil over into more serious fighting, show the impact of the political realignments now under way in that huge segment of Africa stretching from Somalia on the Indian Ocean to Tunisia on the Mediterranean. And it is an area where the great powers themselves are involved indirectly, as the United States and the Soviet Union sort out their shifting relationships with the African nations. Moscow, for example, must consider Western gains in Egypt, Sudan, and potentially Somalia while it juggles an awkward commitment to provide military support for both Ethiopia and Somalia, two bitter rivals.

For the United States, too, some very difficult decisions loom ahead in this region. It is a tempting ploy for Washington to counterbalance Soviet influence in northern Africa by backing those nations ready to turn away from reliance on Kremlin arms, such as Egypt and Sudan. Indeed, the U.S. must encourage those

willing to change, if it is to retain its role as a viable alternative to communist-bloc assistance for Africans. If that means supplying American arms, as formerly was done to Ethiopia, to Ethiopia's neighbors, that will have to be considered carefully in each instance, although one would hope the U.S. could usefully supply items other than military hardware to needy Africans.

Unless the Carter administration is prepared to supply weapons to almost any African seeker, it will have to start drawing the line in that part of the world. Already Egypt wants warplanes and other items totaling \$250 million, a package which still lacks congressional approval. And Sudan now is regarded as a potential customer for American munitions as well. If Somalia and Chad are to be added to the list of recipients — and both have received some initial encouragement — then Washington's commitments could get out of hand, and Congress would be justified in balking.

Thus it is time for President Carter to clarify or redefine his policy on foreign arms sales. At the London summit conference last May he declared that "competition in arms sales is inimical to peace" and affirmed that "we are trying to get other nations, both free and otherwise, to join us in the effort" to restrict such sales. But more recently, when questioned about arms for Sudan and Somalia, he quibbled on this and earlier proposals for cutbacks.

It is not surprising that President Carter should be influenced by the same factors of political expediency that dictated the policies of his predecessors. But, instead of compromising on his own promises, now is the time for Mr. Carter to press the Russians to agree to mutual restraint in Africa to forestall an arms race that could invite both local violence and big-power confrontation.

Foundation or trench?



The Christian Science Monitor

Whither Cyprus, after Makarios?

The passing of Cypriot President Archbishop Makarios leaves a Cyprus still sharply divided between its Greek and Turkish population elements and the Mediterranean island republic partly occupied by Turkish troops. Thus, the formidable task of mending a long, bitter rift and negotiating an end to the Turkish occupation awaits the Makarios successor.

The Archbishop-President, in his dual role as religious and political leader of Greek Cypriots, was well known on the world stage for his efforts: first, to achieve independence for Cyprus from Britain and, later, to unite it with Greece — a goal he soon backed away from.

His long and, at times, stormy career included surviving a number of assassination attempts and a three-year period of British-imposed exile to the remote Seychelles Islands in the Indian Ocean. Throughout it all, the affection and devotion of the Greek Cypriot majority for Makarios was never in doubt. He symbolized their Cyprus, although unfortunately

this alienated him from the Turkish minority.

Since 1974, President Makarios had been faced with Turkish occupation of approximately 40 percent of the island. Efforts to terminate this occupation so far have not succeeded, despite United States help in working toward a solution. Last February, President Carter sent Clark Clifford on a mission to Cyprus, Greece, and Turkey to reactivate negotiations. But there has been little action recently, chiefly because of changes in the Turkish Government leading to reluctance to make concessions on the Cyprus question.

The change of leadership in Cyprus obviously will require a reassessment of the situation by the new President, but the basic objective of reunification of the island remains unchanged. Indeed, the shift of leadership should provide a fresh opportunity for all the factions involved, including those in Athens and Ankara, to work out the settlement that so long eluded the formidable Archbishop.

What the Chudnovskys remind us

When the Soviet Union's premier, Leonid Brezhnev, has exposed a now and then reminder of just how much these rights still need defending in his country, it was apparently not enough to deny the request of gifted young mathematician Grigori Chudnovsky and his retired parents to emigrate to Israel. They also have been subjected to a campaign of harassment. A fortnight ago the elder Chudnovskys were beaten up and seriously injured while taking a walk near the home of their son, who has been bedridden for most of his 20 years. Dr. Sakharov, noting that the police did not arrive for more than three hours, suggests that the beating may have been intimidation under official auspices.

It is easy to suspect the worst in the light of the Soviet record. There can be no genuine jus-

tice in the Soviet Union, even without harassment. And even in terms of Soviet self-interest, what gain can there be for a bold world power in attempting to the tactics of an insecure coward? If the Helsinki declaration means anything, it must mean letting an invalid and his parents move if they want to. The other signatories to it surely ought to forget the Soviet Union know that the least to be expected is an end to such petty tyrannies, which are of course not petty to the victims of them.

But the plight of the Chudnovskys is a reminder of another kind as well. As Jews they have a special claim to attention from the free world with its influential Jewish constituency. With Sakharov in their corner, they get at least a few paragraphs in the international press. But they recall all the others, the thousands murdered in Uganda, for example, not just denied exit visas, those who do not have the same constituency. But their violated rights must also call to the conscience of the world.

Détente in the sciences

Politically, East-West détente may be cooling, but the United States and the Soviet Union still find enough common ground in the sciences to renew their agreements for cooperation for another five years.

This is encouraging, for it is in the sciences that the divisive issue of human rights has erupted most sharply.

Many of the prominent victims of Soviet domestic oppression are scientists, such as V. G. Levich, the biochemist fired from Moscow University in 1972 when he wanted to move to Israel and in whose honor a "60th birthday" international scientific conference was held in July at Oxford University. In spite of the revulsion such oppression causes in the American scientific community and in spite of the resulting condemnation of Soviet practices, both countries still consider their scientific cooperation worthwhile.

Nature, the premier international scientific journal, has pointed up this ambivalence by printing a report of the renewed accord opposite an exposition of Professor Levich's continuing ordeal. The latter account features a page from a Soviet scientific journal from which

Levich's systematically removed several mentions of the name "Levich" in what seemed a crude attempt to render this internationally known scientist a nonperson.

Such politically motivated persecution is anathema to American scientists, for, like and other reasons, renewal of the main U.S.-U.S.S.R. accord was neither casual nor automatic. This is the agreement signed in 1972 by Alexander Nikolaiyevich Ignatyevich which has seen up to now more specialized agreements, some of which have been automatically extended.

A committee of the National Academy of Sciences took a hard look at scientific détente, considering especially the frequent criticism that the Soviet Union has been the chief beneficiary. The committee told presidential science adviser Frank Press that, on balance, "the positive benefits" for the United States make continued cooperation valuable.

Dr. Press describes subsequent negotiations

with the Soviet Union as "extremely cooperative, upbeat all the way." Significantly, they were conducted with no mention of human rights.

Although President Carter's human rights stand is commendable, there is only so much one nation can do in holding up a moral standard for another. In renewing their cooperation in the sciences, both the United States and the Soviet Union have recognized that two powerful nations holding seemingly irreconcilable political views should nevertheless continue to seek ways to live peacefully together on the same small planet.

Bahamas vote

In the fragile world of new nations, where political and economic problems have a way of erupting into violence and instability, it is encouraging to find a new nation achieving new-found freedom with at least a degree of success.

Such is the case in the Bahamas where Prime Minister Lynden Pindling's Progressive Party won a landslide victory in parliamentary elections. In the wake of a hard-fought but peaceful campaign centered on the island's economic difficulties and alleged corruption in high places, voters gave the P.P.P. more seats in Parliament than the last time around.

Part of the surprising P.P.P. victory obviously results from the force of Prime Minister Pindling's own charisma and the rather lackluster performance of his opponents. But it also seems due to the Prime Minister's moderate, sensible approach to governing — in sharp contrast with some other leaders of new nations. For one thing, Mr. Pindling has not succumbed to demagoguery, nor to flamboyant promises and excesses. In trying to solve the Bahamas' many economic problems, with high unemployment and flagging tourism, we suspect the temptation to do so has loomed large.

With his renewed and strengthened mandate, Mr. Pindling should be able to continue his wise course.

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America's one-two space punch

By David F. Salisbury
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor
Edwards AFB, California

As the space shuttle Enterprise takes its first free flight August 12 visions of the science-fiction tale "2001" will be shimmering in the hot desert air here like a mirage.

The stubby-winged rocket/glider has a lot riding on its performance — perhaps the entire future of the American space program. For it is the basket in which the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) has put most of its aerospace eggs. This year alone the shuttle program will account for one-third of the agency's budget, and a number of other programs have been cut or delayed as a result.

NASA leaders feel this emphasis is justified because they are convinced the DC-9-sized craft will be the key to a new era in space — at a time when the potential for practical application of space programs will be more generally acknowledged. As an assessment by the American Institute of Aeronautics and Astronautics (AIAA) puts it:

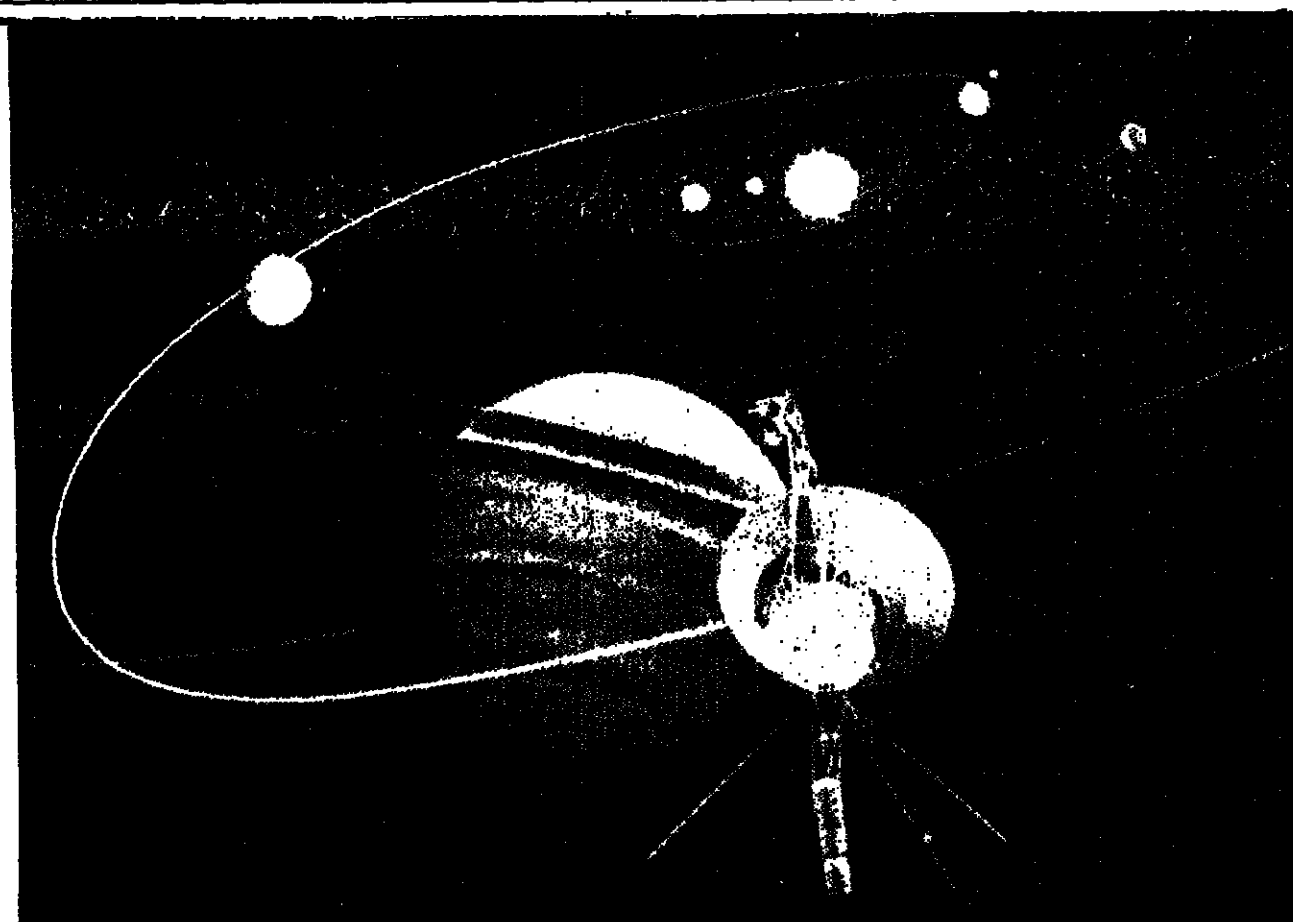
"We have moved from the infancy of space flight in the 1950s and childhood of the 1960s, when each new space 'first' elicited the world's breathless wonder, into the adolescence of the 1970s. Our concern now is turning from the fascination of adventurous exploration to the practical benefits that space technology can bring."

Both the AIAA and NASA are convinced that the shuttle promises to be a "safe, reliable, lower-cost" means of taking the journey out of earth's atmosphere. In so doing, this space "truck" will open up possibilities only dimly perceived at this time.

Critics, on the other hand, have argued that the large cost of the shuttle — already at \$4.5 billion and the most expensive single technology development program in the nation — may prove to be its undoing. The original estimated total cost of the program was \$5 billion.

Scientists who have worked in the unmanned program, in particular, feel that more can be accomplished per dollar with expendable rockets and robot probes. But the strongest faction within NASA is dedicated to manned space flights and the shuttle makes this possible.

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Voyager spacecraft — expected to survey Saturn's moons en route to possible 'Grand Tour' of space

This trip could last 12 years

By Robert C. Cowen
Staff writer of
The Christian Science Monitor

American space scientists are poised for a mission that could last more than a decade, include contact with 16 major planetary bodies, and carry sounds of Earth beyond the solar system just in case there's someone out there listening.

Voyagers 1 and 2 are twin spacecraft aimed primarily at Jupiter and Saturn, but one of the ships may go on to fly by Uranus and Neptune as well.

For space scientists it's a once-in-a-career opportunity to probe the outer solar system. For space planners at

the Jet Propulsion Laboratory of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, which has charge of the mission, it's an opportunity to salvage some of the effort and expense they put into planning the so-called Grand Tour — a proposed mission to all the outer planets which never received funding approval.

By designing the flight trajectory so that Voyager 2 could be sent on to Uranus and Neptune, JPL has given itself an option to pick up part of the Grand Tour. And it has done it for the modest cost of roughly 6 percent of the \$335 million Voyager mission bill.

Thus, if successful, the Voyager mis-

sion will not only be an extraordinary feat of exploration, it will be a triumph of space scientists over budgetary restrictions as well.

Both Voyagers now are at the Kennedy Space Center in Florida, being readied for launch within a few weeks' time. Voyager 2 will be launched first, on or after Aug. 20. Voyager 1 is to follow no sooner than 12 days later.

During the long cruise to the first planetary target, Jupiter, Voyager 1 will overtake its twin and arrive at the giant planet with a nine-month lead in March, 1979. It should start photographing the planet three months earlier.

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Africa meeting in London

Will Vorster's bitterness sour the olive branch?

By Geoffrey Goddard
Oversens news editor of
The Christian Science Monitor

The meeting in London last weekend of the U.S., British, and South African foreign ministers is a chess game in which the stakes are very high—whether or not a brake can be applied to the gathering momentum toward race war in southern Africa.

Of immediate concern to U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and British Foreign Secretary David Owen, who will be meeting South African Foreign Minister Roelof F. Botha, is the effort to move both Rhodesia and Namibia (South-West Africa) to internationally recognized independence under black majority rule.

But it is increasingly clear it will be difficult for Mr. Pindling should be able to continue his wise course.

Moscow-U.S. take sides on 'Great Rift Valley' issues

By Joseph C. Harsch

American diplomacy continues to be occupied actively in three places having an interesting double relationship to one another — the Middle East, northeast Africa, and southern Africa.

The three trouble spots of the day are in a geographic north-south line — more or less the line of the great Rift Valley. The issues involved are tribal, not ideological.

The issue in the Middle East is Jews against Arabs. In northeast Africa, it is Somalis and

Sudanese, both Muslim, against the Coptic Christian Ethiopians. In southern Africa it is whites vs. blacks.

The great powers are involved, yes. Moscow is encouraging and backing southern African blacks against whites. Moscow is trying to back both Ethiopians and Somalis. Moscow encourages the Palestinian refugees against Israel. Washington is trying to keep the black cause in southern Africa from becoming a Soviet monopoly. Washington is encouraging the

Mid-East peace outline reads better between the lines

By Daniel Southerland
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

At first glance, Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance appears to have ended his Middle East peace mission on a note of failure.

Mr. Vance acknowledged at a press conference here that the gap between the Arabs and Israelis on key issues remains wide. But a careful examination of statements from both the Secretary of State and Israeli officials offers some hope of progress when foreign ministers from the countries involved in the Middle East conflict go to the United Nations General Assembly session next month.

Mr. Vance would then undertake a form of "shuttle" diplomacy, moving from one foreign minister to another. And the secretary held out the possibility that the observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) at the United Nations would be brought into these

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United States

Korean influence-peddlers: something for everyone?

By Peter C. Stuart
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

The South Korean bribery investigation on Capitol Hill, so far confined mostly to Democrats in the House of Representatives, may go bicameral and bipartisan.

Sources close to the probe have told the Monitor that seized Korean documents mention some 30 U.S. senators targeted for special treatment. This is roughly one-third of the chamber and includes a much greater proportion of Republicans than had been mentioned in the House probe.

The materials acquired by investigators are reported to indicate that a dozen or so of the 30 mentioned by the Koreans have had "serious" involvement with South Korean influence-seekers. And the records are said to include the names of a few of the Senate's most powerful and best-known figures.

It was not yet clear what degree of involvement, if any, existed for others listed in the Korean documents.

The ratio of Republicans to Democrats, say those familiar with the evidence, is "closer to even" in the Senate than in the House — perhaps 2 Republican senators to every 3 Democratic senators. In the House, only a relative handful of Republicans have been publicly linked with the South Koreans.

House insiders were unsurprised at the announcement by Senate Ethics Committee chairman Adlai E. Stevenson III (D) of Illinois that his panel is gearing up for its own investigation of alleged South Korean lobbying improprieties.



By R. Norman Matheny, staff photographer
Stevenson: heads Senate probe



AP photo
Park: giver of controversial gifts

It would be "strange," reasoned one, for South Koreans trying to influence American foreign policy to have bypassed the Senate, which performs a major constitutional role in formulating foreign policy.

House ethics investigators quietly notified their Senate counterparts four months ago of

growing evidence that some senators may have been involved, and at least one member of the House committee met with colleagues on the Senate panel.

The reason for Senate Spillover in the Korean controversy is easier for Capitol Hill observers to explain than the reported increase

in the proportion of Republicans. One observer speculates that the GOP minority in the Senate embraces a larger share of conservatives sympathetic toward the South Korean military regime.

The names of the 30 or so senators are said to appear on a target list of roughly 100 congressional contacts prepared by an aide of Tongsun Park, the Korean businessman suspected of being an undercover lobbyist for the South Korean Government, as well as on itineraries of trips to Korea and a Park memo that has been reconstructed after shredding.

One senator targeted by the South Koreans was the Senate Ethics Committee chairman himself, Senator Stevenson recently disclosed that he had been contacted 37 times by the Koreans since his election 8½ years ago.

His detailed list of contacts includes mention of a paper bag left by "little men in dark suits and black shoes" containing a box of jewelry (which he returned) and an honorary degree (which he kept) from a university in Seoul. The university lauded his fighting in the Korean war — which had ended before he served there.

The Senator told reporters in Chicago Aug. 8 that the "quiet, informal" Korean inquiry his committee began last spring will be stepped up as a result of investigative records recently supplied by Attorney General Griffin B. Bell and Director of Central Intelligence Stansfield Turner.

Senator Stevenson said he and the committee vice-chairman, Sen. Harrison H. Schmitt (R) of New Mexico, expect in the next week or two to appoint a special counsel who is "prominent nationally as a man of integrity" to supervise the Senate investigation.

Making prison safe for 285,000 inmates

By Brad Kalkorbocker
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

San Francisco

Faced with a rapidly growing prison population in the United States — one increasingly made up of young inmates convicted of violent crimes — prison officials are seeking ways to avert the kind of racial violence that has broken out recently in several California prisons.

Fourteen convicts have been killed in California prisons since the beginning of this year. Several of the killings, including three in July, were said to be racial incidents.

Particularly needed, say both prison reform advocates and corrections professionals, are the kinds of innovative programs now being tried in several states. These include independent ombudsmen available to inmates, specially trained prison staff to handle inter-racial disruptions, and ways for less-dangerous offenders to remain under supervision in their own communities rather than being sent to institutions said to "breed crime."

There now are 285,000 inmates in all prisons and jails in the United States, 20 percent more than a year ago. High unemployment, better police training, speedier trials, more plea bargaining, and a public "backlash" against rehabilitation programs help to explain the recent increase, according to Anthony Trivisono, executive director of the American Correctional Association.

But whether racial unrest in prisons is on the wane — or getting worse — as a result, is uncertain. Except for the recent California outbreaks, many prison authorities think that racial tensions have in fact eased somewhat since the more volatile 1960s and early 1970s.

"I don't mean to paint too rosy a picture, but we see less of that now than we did a few years back," says Henry Mascarello, consultant to the Crime and Justice Foundation (formerly the Massachusetts Council on Crime and Correction). "We have reduced some of the hopelessness that has confronted people in prison heretofore."

Mr. Trivisono, whose organization repre-

sents 12,000 corrections and probation officers, agrees that "the trends are very positive."

But he quickly adds that with rapidly increasing prison populations, he "would not be amazed to see some racial tension increase." Recent rushes of inmate-set fires, he says, are an indication of potential trouble.

Younger inmates often are members of a racial minority, and apt to have a history of personal violence. In some states this has led to the formation of inmate gangs like the "Mexican Mafia," "Aryan Brotherhood" and "Black Guerrilla Family."

To reduce such tensions, these ideas are being tried:

- More members of minorities on prison staffs.

Arizona now has a 35 percent Mexican-American staff in its maximum security prison in Florence, to accommodate an inmate population that is 26 percent Mexican-American. In California, members of minority races now make up 26 percent of the state's prison staff, compared with only 6 percent a decade ago.

"We think this will go a long way to relieve tension," says Philip Guthrie of the California Department of Corrections.

- Smaller, more manageable prisons and prison units.

The U.S. Bureau of Prisons now is organizing its 30,000 inmates (an all-time high) into groups of 50 to 100 with special staff assigned full-time to teach group. The groups are racially integrated, but are separated by special functions, such as alcoholism, drug treatment, job training, and education.

- Dispute settlement by special staff members, outside experts in arbitration, or inmates themselves who are respected by other inmates. Such groups as the American Arbitration Association have helped resolve conflicts, and the Center for Community Justice has assisted corrections officials in New York, Kentucky, and South Carolina in setting up grievance procedures for inmates and parolees.

- As a way of relieving the overcrowding that can lead to racial problems, many prison reformers continue to push for fewer prisons, along with special programs outside of prison for offenders who are not apt to be violent or repeat their crime.

- More volunteer groups coming into prisons to help alleviate the isolation felt by inmates.

"Religious programs specifically talk about self-worth and dignity," says Father Richard Shanahan, chief chaplain for federal prisons. "And when people start to appreciate themselves, they start to appreciate other people, then racial tension is mitigated."

Prison officials also are watching with particular interest Minnesota's experience with a "communities correction act" now being expanded from a few pilot counties in the state to areas including most of the population.

Under the program, counties receive subsidies from the state if they assume responsibility for offenders. The money is used for such things as drug counseling, group homes for juveniles, halfway houses, crisis intervention in schools, and even marriage counseling.

The state still controls persons convicted of the most serious crimes (those with a sentence of five years or more), but the community must pay back the state if it decides to send other offenders to a state prison.



Black and white inmates unable to see each other, play checkers on death row

AP photo

United States

Carter's pro-work, pro-family welfare plan

By Lucia Mount
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

President Carter and Congress agree on the evils of the present welfare system, but can they agree on an alternative?

That is the \$31 billion question being debated here as the President asks Congress to scrap the old system and replace it with his new and slightly more expensive "better jobs and income" program.

Most lawmakers would readily buy the plan's pro-work, pro-family, and anti-fraud goals. It is the "how to" specifics of getting more of the poor off welfare and onto payrolls and assuring that work is always more profitable than welfare that are sure to be the controversial focus of what President Carter himself has said will be "long, tough negotiations."

Favorable reactions

However, early reaction to the President's reform plan — from influential Democratic lawmakers to representatives of such groups as the National Urban League and the U.S. Conference of Mayors — has been surprisingly, if cautiously, favorable.

The reason in large part appears to be the politically appealing changes which the President quietly made in the plan only a few days before it was made public in Plains, Georgia, Aug. 6. Basically, these changes offer more fiscal relief to burdened state and local governments than the President originally intended and significantly tightened up the work requirement in the plan.

Indeed, many consider the work requirement the one ele-

ment of the reform most likely to get through Congress. There has long been strong support in Congress for a tough work requirement as long as there are jobs to match.

Requirement expanded

Initially President Carter would have required single parents of children ages 14 or older to accept jobs or face a cut-back in cash assistance. After meeting at the White House with Sen. Russell Long (D) of Louisiana, the powerful Senate Finance Committee chairman who favors a much stronger work requirement, the President is understood to have changed his plan to include mothers of 7- to 13-year-olds who are able to work. They will be expected to accept at the minimum part-time jobs (some 300,000 of these would be created under the Carter plan) and expected to accept full-time jobs if day-care facilities are available.

"I think Carter has taken the work requirement about as far as he could sensibly take it — it's really not very harsh," comments Brookings Institution welfare expert John Palmer.

Moynihan backings

Sen. Daniel P. Moynihan (D) of New York, chairman of the Senate finance subcommittee which will consider the plan in the fall, told reporters at breakfast recently that it is a "magnificent proposal" which has "a good chance of getting through because of that work requirement." He says he thinks the atmosphere in this country has changed significantly for the better over the last eight years to the point where work for women is regarded more as a "right" than a "punishment."

Another Carter move which appears to have appeased potentially hostile state and local officials is the President's bid to give \$2 billion in fiscal relief to state and local governments during the first year of the plan.

Obviously pleased with the early favorable reactions to the new plan, Health, Education, and Welfare Secretary Joseph A. Califano Jr. said Aug. 7 on "Face the Nation" that hearings on



By Peter Main, staff photographer

Welfare reform: her mother has the 'right' to work

both sides of Congress would begin in September and predicted, "This program is going to go through Congress... we're finally going to have welfare reform."

Critics high and low

However the content and price tag of the changes are also drawing criticism from conservative Republicans who consider the plan too generous, and from organized welfare groups who call it too Spartan.

One area sure to be controversial, for instance, is the creation of 1.4 million public service job and training positions which the administration itself bills as "the biggest jobs program since the Depression."

Also, the President's plan to supplement the salary of the working poor according to income and size of family so that work will always be more profitable than welfare has already triggered sharp criticism.

House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. (D) of Mass who has set up a special committee to expedite the legislation, says he will aim to complete House action by next spring.

Full passage could well take longer than that, but welfare experts agree that both speed and passage itself may depend in the end on how strong and consistent White House leadership remains and on how determined Congress is to do away with the inequities and inefficiencies of the present system.

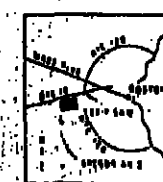
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United States

Korean influence-peddlers: something for everyone?

By Peter C. Stuart
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

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in the proportion of Republicans. One observer speculates that the GOP minority in the Senate embraces a larger share of conservatives sympathetic toward the South Korean military regime.

The names of the 30 or so senators are said to appear on a target list of roughly 100 congressional contacts prepared by an aide of Tongsun Park, the Korean businessman suspected of being an undercover lobbyist for the South Korean Government, as well as on itineraries of trips to Korea and a Park memo that has been reconstructed after shredding.

One senator targeted by the South Koreans was the Senate Ethics Committee chairman himself. Senator Stevenson recently disclosed that he had been contacted 37 times by the Koreans since his election 6½ years ago.

His detailed list of contacts includes mention of a paper bag left by "little men in dark suits and black shoes" containing a box of jewelry (which he returned) and an honorary degree (which he kept) from a university in Seoul. The university lauded his fighting in the Korean war — which had ended before he served there.

The Senator told reporters in Chicago Aug. 8 that the "quiet, informal" Korean inquiry by his committee began last spring will be stepped up as a result of investigative records recently supplied by Attorney General Griffin B. Bell and Director of Central Intelligence Stanislaus Turner.

Senator Stevenson said he and the committee vice-chairman, Sen. Harrison H. Schmitt (R) of New Mexico, expect in the next week or two to appoint a special counsel who is "prominent nationally as a man of integrity" to supervise the Senate investigation.

Making prison safe for 285,000 inmates

By Brad Knickerbocker
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

San Francisco
Faced with a rapidly growing prison population in the United States — one increasingly made up of young inmates convicted of violent crimes — prison officials are seeking ways to avert the risk of racial violence that has broken out recently in several California prisons.

Fourteen convicts have been killed in California prisons since the beginning of this year. Several of the killings, including three in July, were said to be racial incidents.

Particularly needed, say both prison reform advocates and corrections professionals, are the kinds of innovative programs now being tried in several states. These include independent ombudsmen available to inmates, specially trained prison staff to handle inter-racial disruptions, and ways for less-dangerous offenders to remain under supervision in their own communities rather than being sent to institutions said to "breed crime."

There now are 285,000 inmates in all prisons and jails in the United States, 20 percent more than a year ago. High unemployment, better police training, speedier trials, more plea bargaining, and a public "backlash" against rehabilitation programs help to explain the recent increase, according to Anthony Trivisono, executive director of the American Correctional Association.

But whether racial unrest in prisons is on the wane — or getting worse — as a result, is uncertain. Except for the recent California outbreaks, many prison authorities think that racial tensions have in fact eased somewhat since the more volatile 1960s and early 1970s.

"I don't mean to paint too rosy a picture, but we see less of that now than we did a few years back," says Henry Mascarello, consultant to the Crime and Justice Foundation (formerly the Massachusetts Council on Crime and Correction). "We have reduced some of the hopelessness that has confronted people in prison heretofore."

Mr. Trivisono, whose organization repre-

sents 12,000 corrections and probation officers, agrees that "the trends are very positive."

But he quickly adds that with rapidly increasing prison populations, he "would not be amazed to see some racial tension increase." Recent rushes of inmate-set fires, he says, are an indication of potential trouble.

Younger inmates often are members of a racial minority, and apt to have a history of personal violence. In some states this has led to the formation of inmate gangs like the "Mexican Mafia," "Aryan Brotherhood," and "Black Guerrilla Family."

To reduce such tensions, these ideas are being tried:

• More members of minorities on prison staffs.

Arizona now has a 35 percent Mexican-American staff in its maximum security prison in Florence, to accommodate an inmate population that is 26 percent Mexican-American. In California, members of minority races now make up 28 percent of the state's prison staff, compared with only 6 percent a decade ago.

"We think this will go a long way to relieve tension," says Philip Guthrie of the California Department of Corrections.

• Smaller, more manageable prisons and prison units.

The U.S. Bureau of Prisons now is organizing its 30,000 inmates (an all-time high) into groups of 50 to 100 with special staff assigned full-time to teach group. The groups are racially integrated, but are separated by special functions, such as alcoholism, drug treatment, job training, and education.

• Dispute settlement by special staff members, outside experts in arbitration, or inmates themselves who are respected by other inmates. Such groups as the American Arbitration Association have helped resolve conflicts, and the Center for Community Justice has assisted corrections officials in New York, Kentucky, and South Carolina in setting up grievance procedures for inmates and parolees.

• As a way of relieving the overcrowding that can lead to racial problems, many prison reformers continue to push for fewer prisons, along with special programs outside of prison for offenders who are not apt to be violent or repeat offenders.

More inmates are being sent into prisons to help alleviate the isolation felt by inmates. "Religious programs specifically talk about self-worth and dignity," says Father Richard Hollahan, chief chaplain for federal prison. "And when people start to appreciate themselves, they start to appreciate other people, then racial tension is mitigated."

Prison officials also are watching with particular interest Minnesota's experience with a "communities correction act" now being expanded from a few pilot counties in the state to areas including most of the population.

Under the program, counties receive subsidies from the state if they assume responsibility for offenders. The money is used for such things as drug counseling, group homes for juveniles, halfway houses, crisis intervention in schools, and even marriage counseling.

The state still controls persons convicted of the most serious crimes (those with a sentence of five years or more), but the community must pay back the state if it decides to send other offenders to a state prison.



Black and white inmates unable to see each other, play checkers on death row

AP photo

United States

Carter's pro-work, pro-family welfare plan

By Lucia Mouat
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Washington
President Carter and Congress agree on the evils of the present welfare system, but can they agree on an alternative?

That is the \$31 billion question being debated here as the President asks Congress to scrap the old system and replace it with his new and slightly more expensive "better jobs and income" program.

Most lawmakers would readily buy the plan's pro-work, pro-family, and anti-fraud goals. It is the "how to" specifics of getting more of the poor off welfare and onto payrolls and assuring that work is always more profitable than welfare that are sure to be the controversial focus of what President Carter himself has said will be "long, tough negotiations."

Favorable reactions

However, early reaction to the President's reform plan — from influential Democratic lawmakers to representatives of such groups as the National Urban League and the U.S. Conference of Mayors — has been surprisingly, if cautiously, favorable.

The reason in large part appears to be the politically appealing changes which the President quietly made in the plan only a few days before it was made public in Plains, Georgia, Aug. 8. Basically, these changes offer more fiscal relief to burdened state and local governments than the President originally intended and significantly tightened up the work requirement in the plan.

Indeed, many consider the work requirement the one ele-

ment of the reform most likely to get through Congress. There has long been strong support in Congress for a tough work requirement as long as there are jobs to match.

Requirement expanded

Initially President Carter would have required single parents of children ages 14 or older to accept jobs or face a cut-back in cash assistance. After meeting at the White House with Sen. Russell Long (D) of Louisiana, the powerful Senate Finance Committee chairman who favors a much stronger work requirement, the President is understood to have changed his plan to include mothers of 7- to 13-year-olds who are able to work. They will be expected to accept at the minimum part-time jobs (some 300,000 of these would be created under the Carter plan) and expected to accept full-time jobs if day-care facilities are available.

"I think Carter has taken the work requirement about as far as he could sensibly take it — it's really not very harsh," comments Brookings Institution welfare expert John Palmer.

Moynihan backings

Sen. Daniel P. Moynihan (D) of New York, chairman of the Senate finance subcommittee which will consider the plan in the fall, told reporters at breakfast recently that it is a "magnificent proposal" which has "a good chance of getting through because of that work requirement." He says he thinks the atmosphere in this country has changed significantly for the better over the last eight years to the point where work for women is regarded more as a "right" than a "punishment."

Another Carter move which appears to have appeased potentially hostile state and local officials is the President's bid to give \$2 billion in fiscal relief to state and local governments during the first year of the plan.

Obviously pleased with the early favorable reactions to the new plan, Health, Education, and Welfare Secretary Joseph A. Califano Jr. said Aug. 7 on "Face the Nation" that hearings on



By Peter Main, staff photographer

Welfare reform: her mother has the 'right' to work

both sides of Congress would begin in September and predicted, "This program is going to go through Congress ... we're finally going to have welfare reform."

Critics high and low

However the content and price tag of the changes are also drawing criticism from conservative Republicans who consider the plan too generous, and from organized welfare groups who call it too Spartan.

One area sure to be controversial, for instance, is the creation of 1.4 million public service jobs and training positions which the administration itself bills as "the biggest jobs program since the Depression."

Also, the President's plan to supplement the salary of the working poor according to income and size of family so that work will always be more profitable than welfare has already triggered sharp criticism.

House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. (D) of Mass who has set up a special committee to expedite the legislation, says he will aim to complete House action by next spring.

Full passage could well take longer than that, but welfare experts agree that both speed and passage itself may depend in the end on how strong and consistent White House leadership remains and on how determined Congress is to do away with the inequities and inefficiencies of the present system.

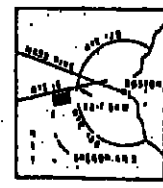
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Africa

Exclusive interview with S. African Prime Minister

Vorster's answers to southern African problems

By Geoffrey Godsell
Overseas news editor of The Christian Science Monitor
Pretoria, South Africa

South African Prime Minister John Vorster, in an exclusive interview here, made these points:

• **Rhodesia:** A prerequisite for a solution is the identification of a black leader by either a black referendum or a black election. Without expressly saying so, Mr. Vorster did not exclude from such a test of popularity the black Rhodesian leaders with guerrilla connections, Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe, both of whom are anathema to white Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith.

• **One-man, one-vote in South Africa:** This is absolutely not negotiable — meaning that the South African Government will never agree to blacks here having a vote for or in a white parliament.

• **South African-U.S. relations:** While Henry Kissinger was secretary of state, things had been moving forward. But with the arrival of the Carter administration in Washington, "we had to start from the beginning again."

"The main difference between the Carter administration and the South African Government," Mr. Vorster said, "can be put in a nutshell: The Carter administration, and especially [its UN Ambassador] Mr. Young, wants to equate the position of the American black in the South with the position of the black man in South Africa. Our standpoint is that you cannot equate the two whatsoever."

• **Namibia:** It is quite possible that the presence of South African troops in the territory (known here as South-West Africa), will be an issue when representatives of the five Western members of the Security Council confer at United Nations headquarters in New York on their latest discussions with Mr. Vorster here on independence for the territory.

On the difference between the American black and the black man in South Africa, Mr. Vorster said:

"The black man in the United States has been divested of his African personality, his culture, his language, his tradition, and his way of life, and he is the descendant of slaves. The South African black was never a slave. He is a member of a nation in his own right. He has his own language, his own traditions, and way of life, with his own land and

his own laws and customs. Our aim and object is that each nation [i.e., tribal homeland], should become independent."

Mr. Vorster said that this standpoint had been at the center of his discussions with U.S. Vice-President Walter Mondale in Vienna in May and that he had argued it very forcefully. But he could not judge how far it has now been accepted by the Carter administration.

The Prime Minister said his government welcomes U.S. interest in southern Africa, but "we will not accept that the United States has a right to prescribe what should be done. We are prepared to discuss but we are not prepared to take orders."

Discussing Rhodesia, Mr. Vorster said there are so many claimants to black leadership that it is imperative to identify the one having the confidence of the majority of blacks. He declined to say whether South Africa would accept or want the names of Mr. Nkomo or Mr. Mugabe on any ballot, saying this is not the South African Government's business. But he added that the South African Government would accept any eventual black government in Rhodesia that "did not meddle in our business or accept bases on its territory directed against South Africa."

Turning to Namibia — until now run by South Africa — Mr. Vorster gave the impression that there are no hitches between the Western powers and his government about the process of appointing a UN representative to supervise elections as a prelude to independence.

But his remarks were open to the inference that difficulties could arise over the continued presence of South African troops during the election. The question was raised when the Western powers had their talks in New York with Sam Njema, leader of the South-West African People's Organization, the most articulate and active African political party in Namibia.

South Africa was initially reluctant to include SWAPO in Namibia elections, but now has agreed to this. SWAPO, however, has so far taken the line that elections cannot be fair if South African troops remain there during the campaign and voting.

Asked if the South African Government has given the Western powers its final offer on Namibia, Mr. Vorster said: "We have put our point of view very clearly. We don't



Vorster: 'We don't do horse-trading'

do horse-trading, and that is the end of it.

"The South African Government's attitude is perfectly fair and perfectly reasonable: that the territory as a whole become independent and that the people have a right to decide their future and elect their government."

"Until that day arrives, South Africa is responsible for law and order and for safeguarding the integrity of the territory — and that we will do."

Rhodesian election a non-issue for black majority

By Tony Hawkins
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Salisbury, Rhodesia
Rhodesia's general election, set for Aug. 31, is of little concern to the 6.5 million blacks, who are in a 24-to-1 majority.

Only a small proportion of the blacks are entitled to vote because of qualifications based on property ownership and income. Even those who qualify tend to view the election as irrelevant to the question of transferring power into black hands.

For whites, there will be a lively contest between the 120 candidates contesting the 90 seats reserved for whites in the Rhodesian

Parliament. The only unopposed white candidate is Prime Minister Ian Smith.

For blacks, candidates in five of the eight directly elected black seats in the 66-member Parliament are unopposed, while 13 candidates are contesting the three other elected seats. The final eight black seats are filled by the tribal leaders' nominees.

The main opposition to Mr. Smith's ruling Rhodesian Front comes from the right-wing Rhodesia Action Party (RAP), contesting 46 of the 60 white seats.

With the defection of 12 of Mr. Smith's supporters during the last session of Parliament, RAP held 12 seats in the previous Parliament, but it is not expected to retain them at the polls. Instead, political observers here say, the

new party may get no more than five or six seats.

RAP stands for a more aggressive war policy, including retaliatory raids into neighboring countries that harbor guerrillas (Botswana, Zambia, and Mozambique), a harder line against nationalist parties inside Rhodesia that support the guerrillas (which it would ban), and a three-tiered government structure that would leave the whites in control of their own areas and a multiracial federal government in overall control.

Mr. Smith also is opposed by 18 candidates from the National Unifying Force (NUF), led by Allan Savory. This is a group of white liberals that wants to abolish all racial discrimination, to establish immediately a na-

tional government, including black leaders, and to negotiate for an early handover to majority rule on the basis of universal franchise. The NUF, which contested the 1974 election as the Rhodesia Party, failed to win a seat in Parliament but did attract some 18 percent of the votes. This time the party seems unlikely to win as much as 10 percent of the votes and many, probably most, of its candidates are likely to lose their deposits.

In calling the election Mr. Smith is seeking a mandate either to negotiate a settlement internally with moderate leaders of the country's 6.5 million blacks, such as Bishop Abel Muzorewa and the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole, or to achieve an externally recognized settlement through negotiations with the British and U.S. Governments.

But he has made it clear he sees little prospect of an external agreement because, he says, Britain and the United States are "pandering" to the militant Patriotic Front, led by Joshua Nkomo (who recently visited Cuba in search of military hardware for the guerrilla war), and Robert Mugabe.

If he wins the 1977 election, Mr. Smith says, he will negotiate a settlement with the government, including blacks, which would draw up a new constitution for an independent Rhodesia.

However, even the most moderate of the black leaders, Chief Chirau, who heads the Zimbabwe United People's Organization, has refused to participate in the broadly based "Interim" government that Mr. Smith plans to establish, unless he first sets a definite date for majority rule under universal franchise.

Hopes of achieving a compromise settlement with blacks seem slim. Most recently, the Smith government has announced that it will evict more than 20 black families currently living in a "white" suburb of Salisbury. Among those listed for eviction are two moderate nationalist politicians, one of them the Rev. Mr. Sithole.



Blacks equal in the market, but not in the voting booth

By Gordon Converse, chief photographer

Africa

Bombing in Salisbury

Did it damage the Mugabe-Nkomo 'marriage'?

By Tony Hawkins
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Salisbury, Rhodesia

The impact of Rhodesia's latest terrorist incidents is largely political. In particular, the Aug. 6 bombing of a Salisbury department store, killing 11, has hardened the attitudes of the right-wing Rhodesia Action Party (RAP), which wants to outlaw the domestic nationalist parties that support the guerrillas.

The RAP seized on a reported claim by Robert Mugabe, leader of the Zimbabwe African National Union, based in Mozambique, that his party was responsible for the Salisbury bombing.

Mr. Mugabe's partner in the militant Patriotic Front, Joshua Nkomo, who is in Guyana after visiting Cuba in search of war materials, denied any involvement in the incident and predictably laid the blame on the Rhodesian security forces.

Government officials are resigned to this kind of accusation from Mr. Nkomo, who has blamed all atrocities in the war so far, on the

Rhodesian forces. But the split between the Mugabe and Nkomo wings of the Patriotic Front on the issue is evidence, officials say, of the fragile nature of their "marriage of convenience."

Intentions questioned

These officials say the incident ought to help to convince British Foreign Secretary David Owen and U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance, who met in London last week to discuss Rhodesia, that the militant Patriotic Front is not interested in a peaceful political settlement. But the Rhodesian Government is increasingly resigned to the prospect of settlement proposals being offered by Mr. Vance and Dr. Owen that will be totally unacceptable to black moderates, as well as to white Rhodesians.

The British-American terms will figure large in the Rhodesian general election campaign now gathering momentum ahead of voting day on Aug. 31.

While the Salisbury bombing has been condemned by all the white parties and most of

the nationalist movements, it increasingly is becoming a political football. Right-wingers such as the RAP claim that such incidents will continue until a tougher stance is taken in the war. Moderates argue that only by securing an early and peaceful settlement can the killings — in the bush and now in the towns — be ended.

Yet Rhodesians generally have reacted calmly to the bombing, the worst urban terrorist incident in the country's history. Police here have long expected a bombing campaign of this kind and have been rather surprised that it had not occurred earlier. At the same time, they say they have no reason yet — despite two incidents within 36 hours 7 to believe that the attack on a Salisbury department store patronized mainly by blacks, marks the start of a Belfast-style campaign.

Rail line hit

The second incident occurred in the early hours of Aug. 8, when saboteurs blew up the railway line from Salisbury to the farming town of Sinola. Damage was only minor and the line was back in operation by noon. The in-

cident occurred only a few hundred yards from the Kambuzuma African township, close to the capital.

Rhodesian police have launched an intensive security campaign. Police teams visited business premises to advise on security precautions while the Associated Chambers of Commerce of Rhodesia is bringing out a pamphlet instructing its members what to do.

Department stores in Salisbury have said they saw no reduction in business but they quickly introduced security precautions. A number of stores closed off some of their entrances and searched shoppers coming in from the street. Others said they would be increasing the number of plain-clothes and uniformed security staff employed.

The city's main hotels started refusing to take packages for collection from out-of-town visitors.

Police have televised advice to shoppers, and motorists, warning them to lock their vehicles to prevent cars from being used to ferry bombs to intended targets. Bomb drill practices have been held at schools.

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Asia

It was Mrs. Gandhi's hand that gagged the press

White paper says faith in media was shattered

By Mohan Ram
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

New Delhi

Former Prime Minister Indira Gandhi personally directed the gagging of Indian newspapers, the virtual take-over by the state of news agencies, and the misuse of the government radio and television systems during the 20½-month state of emergency that ended last March.

Those are some of the findings of an Aug. 1 white paper presented to Parliament for discussion by the government of new Prime Minister Morarji Desai. The document, which is more than 190 pages long and thought to be the first of its kind here in 30 years of independence, calls Mrs. Gandhi's exercise of emergency powers "ruthless" and something "totally inconceivable in a democracy."

Mrs. Gandhi originally proclaimed the emergency in late June, 1975, for the purpose of safeguarding Indian democracy from political subversion.

Faith shattered

"No wonder by the time the emergency ended, public faith in the reliability of the media had been completely shattered," the white paper says.

As the white paper describes it:

- Indian newspapers, once regarded as the freest in Asia after those of Japan, soon found themselves muzzled by the censorship regulations after the emergency took effect. Even court proceedings were subjected to pre-censorship.

- Journalists and their families were harassed, and at least 253 of them were imprisoned without trial. Correspondents were denied access to news sources. Papers were pressured by the denial of advertising and supplies of newsprint. (In India, government advertisements account for a substantial part of revenue for most newspapers, and the government also regulates newsprint allocations.) Printing plants were seized

or, in the case of defiant newspapers, sizable security deposits were demanded.

- A series of new press laws was passed by Parliament that institutionalized the emergency curbs and made them immune from judicial scrutiny.

(Journalists saw these new laws as more draconian than any imposed during the British colonial days. Some often spoke of a climate of fear that pervaded the corridors of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, which was charged with regulating the media.)

- With the press and news agencies under centralized control, the state radio and television systems became "propaganda instruments" of the ruling party and "peddlers of the personality cult."

According to the white paper, not only was Mrs. Gandhi's own image tarnished, but the media also acted to do the same for her younger son, Sanjay. At first, it says, All India Radio was asked to describe him as "youth leader." Later, this description was to be dropped, presumably to convey the impression that he was a national leader who did not require description.

At the same time, however, the younger Gandhi held no official position in the government or in the Congress Party, which his mother led and which had ruled India without interruption since independence.

- While there was "exaggerated" publicity for government and ruling party activities, along with attacks on opposition leaders, the latter's replies seldom were mentioned. The radio also was used to "uncover" and stress incidents real or imaginary as the culmination of opposition violence.

Among other points made by the white paper is the allegation that the Gandhi government had made plans to jam foreign radio broadcasts critical of the emergency rule.

The report was prepared by K. K. Dass, a former Information Ministry official.



Bandphoto

Gandhi: personally shackled the press

Japan's billion-dollar bonus for Asian neighbors

By Frederic A. Moritz
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

Japan has offered a conditional \$1 billion of aid in what could be the beginning of a historic partnership with the five-member Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN).

The offer, as conveyed by Prime Minister Takeo Fukuda Aug. 7 after the second ASEAN summit here, appears to lay the groundwork for a continuing economic dialogue between his country and the 10-year-old regional association. It came as the meeting of leaders of Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand completed another chapter in their cautious search for a stronger regional grouping to help compensate for the "vacuum" left by the American defeat in Vietnam.

In a joint statement issued with the ASEAN heads of government, Mr. Fukuda pledged:

- To "consider favorably" a request for \$1 billion to help finance five proposed joint ASEAN industrial projects.
- To help "facilitate" ASEAN's efforts to in-

crease exports to Japan, "including further examination of ASEAN's requests for removal and/or relaxation of tariff and non-tariff barriers."

- To conduct a "joint examination" of the possibilities of establishing a method for stabilizing the prices of ASEAN-produced commodities exported to Japan.

A condition attached

But the Japanese \$1 billion aid offer clearly "threw the ball back into the ASEAN court," in the words of one observer here. For it contained the condition that it would be extended "provided each project was established as an ASEAN project and that its feasibility was confirmed."

ASEAN sources long have talked of seeking \$1 billion in aid from Japan for financing five joint industrial projects agreed upon 18 months ago at the first summit meeting. But results of the second summit confirm that difficulties are in store for several of the projects, which include urea fertilizer plants in Indonesia and Malaysia, a phosphate fertilizer plant in the Philippines, a diesel engine factory in Singa-

pore, and a soda ash fertilizer plant in Thailand.

Because Indonesia plans to build its own factory to manufacture diesel engines under 500 horsepower, it is insisting that the Singapore factory make only engines over 500 hp, a condition that Singapore says would make the proposed project economically impractical.

Alternatives sought

Low demand for fertilizer and other factors have cast shadows over several of the other projects. ASEAN planners are seeking possible alternatives, including plants to manufacture heavy-duty rubber tires, metalworking machine tools, newsprint, tin plate, television picture tubes, and potash. Fisheries are planned, too.

As a result, this year's summit confirmed that of the five, only Indonesia's urea plant project is anywhere near completion. The feasibility study on the project has been completed, and it could be launched by mid-1978, an ASEAN communiqué indicated. But the four other projects are still bogged down in feasibility studies, according to the communiqué.

Thus only one ASEAN project is at the stage where the Japanese can be asked for a specific commitment. Therefore, hopes for large-scale Japanese involvement in these ASEAN ventures have been set back.

Tariff-free market

But if the feasibility study for the Indonesia urea plant is approved by the ASEAN economic ministers meeting in Bangkok, Thailand, next month, Japan will then be asked to contribute \$298 million (three-quarters of the cost) in low-interest loans. Indonesia would provide 60 percent of the rest and other ASEAN members 10 percent each. The urea fertilizer produced would be guaranteed a tariff-free market in all five member countries.

As a result of further expected delays with four of the five industrial projects, attention in the ASEAN-Japanese discussions expected to shift to Japan's expressed willingness to explore tariff reduction and price stabilization plans.

ASEAN members have long sought such concessions as part of the "rich-nation, poor-nation" dialogue.

ASEAN family grows closer

By Frederic A. Moritz
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

Just how much have nearly five days of conferences and communiqués contributed to the peace and stability of South-east Asia?

Progress has been slow, difficult, and undramatic. But there are signs of continuing growth.

That is a widely held view of the second summit meeting of the 10-year-old Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN).

The conference produced few surprises and virtually no achievements or breakthroughs that had not been expected or agreed upon well in advance. But for a symbolic first time the leaders of Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand have met person to person to discuss economic issues as a group with the leaders of Japan, Australia, and New Zealand.

The results left Southeast Asia's most vocal advocate of regional economic cooperation visibly disappointed. Said Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore: "Certain objectives of ASEAN cannot be achieved as quickly as some of us would have wished them to be. . . . We have to accept a pace of intra-ASEAN economic cooperation which is more congenial to all of us, even though it may be less than what is achievable if we all set our sights higher."

On the positive side, the conference produced:

- An unconditional dropping of the Philippines' claim to the Malaysian State of Sabah. The announcement by President Ferdinand Marcos was expected to improve relations between the two countries and pave the way for tight new controls that would keep Muslims in Sabah from aiding fellow Muslims who are insurgents in the southern Philippines.

- Signing of a previously negotiated "swap" agreement. ASEAN members with balance-of-payments problems would be able to borrow American dollars from a \$100 million standby pool set up with a \$20 million donation by each of the five countries.

- Approval of rice- and oil-sharing agreements under which members that are short in these commodities would be given preference in buying them from other member countries with surpluses.

- Endorsement of a prior agreement to reduce tariffs in

member countries on 71 items, although the No. 1 manufacturing state among them, Singapore, was clearly disappointed that items for tariff reduction were limited to that number. In deference to protectionist sentiment in countries like Indonesia, the ASEAN leaders agreed to enlarge the list only after further study.

The failure of the conference to move toward carrying out five joint industrial projects (agreed upon at the first ASEAN summit at Bali, Indonesia, 18 months ago) was widely seen as a serious setback to the momentum toward mutual cooperation.

Four of the five projects have failed to get beyond the feasibility studies, which meant ASEAN leaders could exert little pressure on Japanese Prime Minister Takeo Fukuda for specific aid commitments to the projects. Mr. Fukuda stressed that the Japanese offer of \$1 billion in low-interest loans for financing the projects is conditional on agreement by ASEAN to back the projects as feasible.

It remains to be seen whether Mr. Fukuda's offer will spur ASEAN members to move faster on the five projects or on possible substitutes now under consideration.

Japan's other offers (to consider relaxation of trade barriers on ASEAN goods and to jointly examine possibilities for stabilizing the prices of ASEAN-exported commodities) were pledges of intent rather than specific commitments.

As expected, Australian Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser resisted the demand that his country reduce its trade barriers to ASEAN products. Instead, Australia agreed to increase bilateral aid to ASEAN countries to \$20 million. Also agreed on was a consultative arrangement with ASEAN countries to discuss any future Australian tariff hikes.

New Zealand, with which ASEAN trade differences are relatively minor, pledged continued cooperation and a \$50 million increase in aid over five years if suitable projects are identified.

The mixed results of the summit omitted concrete steps to increase the power and size of the permanent Jakarta-based ASEAN secretariat.

Looming over all of this was the question of how to deal with Communist Indo-China. Despite continuing Vietnamese attacks on ASEAN as a "tool of the United States," the summit communiqué stressed the intention of developing peaceful and mutually beneficial relations with all countries of the re-



AP photo

Lee — wishes ASEAN sights had been set higher

gion, including Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam.

But Thailand's continuing border frictions with Cambodia and Laos were of obvious concern to other ASEAN members, even though they refrained from using the harsh anti-Communist language of Thai Prime Minister Thanin Kraivichien.

On the one hand, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Singapore do not want Thailand to succumb to an externally aligned Communist insurgency. On the other, they do not want to abandon the ASEAN objective of forming a zone of peace, freedom, and neutrality by embracing Thailand's anti-Vietnam stance.

Another Vietnam-related issue is the concern of some ASEAN leaders that Japan's desire to improve relations with the Indo-China states may cause it to go slow in aiding ASEAN, lest that offend Vietnam.

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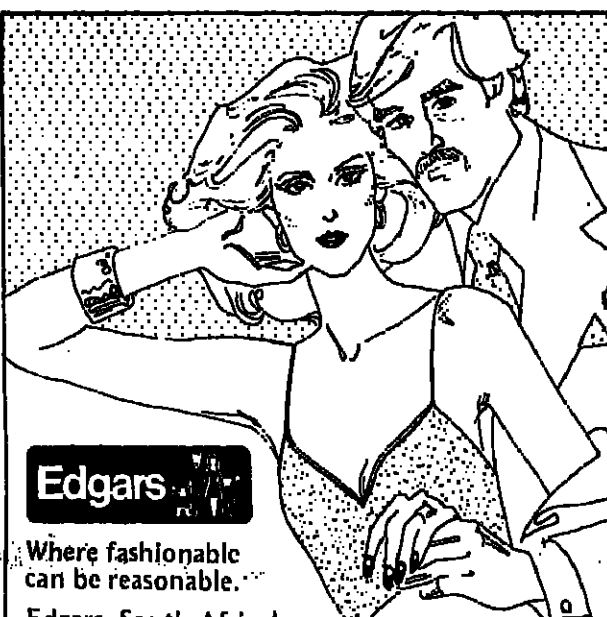
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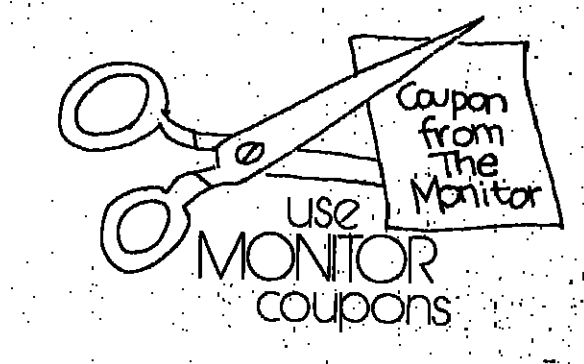


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Pakistani elections set for Oct. 18

Ousted Prime Minister Bhutto: 'Maybe I'll run, maybe I won't'

By Qutubuddin Aziz
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Karachi, Pakistan

The decks have been cleared for Pakistanis to go to the polls for the second time this year, now that the two main rivals have decided to contest the elections.

Scheduled for Oct. 18 by the military regime that ousted Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto last month, the elections are designed to fill 200 seats in the lower house of Parliament and 400 seats in the four provincial assemblies.

Mr. Bhutto announced Aug. 4 that he and his People's Party (PPP) decided to participate after a two-day conference here in Karachi. But the former prime minister implied he might change his decision if allegations persisted about misuse of power during his previous 5½ years in office.

In a statement, the PPP said it chose to take part in the elections in the larger interests of the country and because it feels that it alone is capable of saving the Pakistani federal system from collapse.

Political observers have been saying that if the PPP had boycotted the elections, as was predicted in some circles, it could have meant a confrontation with the military regime. The latter has threatened severe penalties for anyone who interferes with the electoral process.

Although Mr. Bhutto's aides contend the PPP will win the election, now 10 weeks away, analysts are inclined to think the rival Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) will win in the Punjab, Baluchistan, and North West Frontier provinces and in the city of Karachi, the country's biggest city.

The PNA, Mr. Bhutto's bitter opponent and loser in an unexpected landslide when the first elections were held in March, already had announced it would participate in the new ones.

The analysts think Mr. Bhutto may fare better in his home province, Sind, where he was returned to Parliament without opposition last time. However, he may face a strong contender in the Pir of Pagaro, the religio-political leader of more than a million Hurriyatmen and onetime acting president of the PNA.

The PNA is due to meet this week to pick its candidates

and review its campaign platform. Nomination papers began being filed Aug. 6.

The PNA is due to meet this week to pick its candidates and review its campaign platform. Nomination papers began being filed Aug. 6.

PNA secretary-general Ghafoor Ahmed has pledged full press freedom and the scrapping of the government-controlled newspaper conglomerate National Press Trust if his party is victorious.

In the meantime, Army chief Zia al-Haq, leader of the coup that toppled Mr. Bhutto's government, told his troops in a meeting Aug. 3 in Peshwar that he is determined that the October elections will be peaceful and impartial and that power be transferred to the winning party as soon as the results of the voting are known.

In another development, an alliance of seven left-wing parties calling itself the People's Democratic Alliance has announced it will compete as an alternative to the PPP and PNA, pledging among other things to withdraw Pakistan from the Central Treaty Organization and to ignore all the country's foreign debts.

Latin America

Will Carter dig a new canal in Central America?

By James Nelson Goodsell
Latin America correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

President Carter's almost offhand comment about building a new sea-level canal across the Isthmus of Panama or elsewhere in Central America should not be seen as mere rhetoric or speculation but rather as a reflection of current Carter thinking, sources close to the White House say.

"It is in the hopper, so to speak," said one White House source.

The idea of a second canal is an old one. It was discussed after serious rioting in Panama in 1964 over U.S. control of the present waterway, but was shelved because of cost and political considerations.

It was then estimated that it would take \$7 billion to construct a sea-level canal — and probably more. There also was a feeling that,

given the problems the United States faces with Panama over the present waterway, construction of a new canal would prove equally troublesome politically.

But President Carter in his comments on a new waterway, made in Yazoo, Mississippi, July 21, said such a canal would not be "unreasonable nor exorbitant" in view of the \$8 billion cost of the new Alaska pipeline or the re-estimated \$12 billion for a natural gas pipeline.

"My guess," the President remarked, "is that before many more years go by, we might very well need a new canal, one at sea level, that can handle very large ships."

Although it can accommodate the overwhelming majority of ships on the high seas, the present Panama Canal is unable to handle the large supertankers and cargo vessels.

There was a feeling that the President made the comment about a sea-level canal to judge Panamanian strongman Gen. Omar Torrijos

Herrera to tone down his monetary demands in the negotiations on a new treaty to govern the future of the Panama Canal.

The White House knows that Congress will not ratify a treaty on the present canal unless it is reasonable and unless it comes quickly. The opposition to the new treaty providing for eventual Panamanian control of the present canal is growing.

By personally intervening in meeting with negotiators from the United States and Panama and in writing General Torrijos, the President has shown how eager he is for a new treaty. And the suggestion of a sea-level canal fits into this pattern.

But knowledgeable officials in Washington stress that the second-canal concept goes beyond whatever impact it may have on present treaty talks.

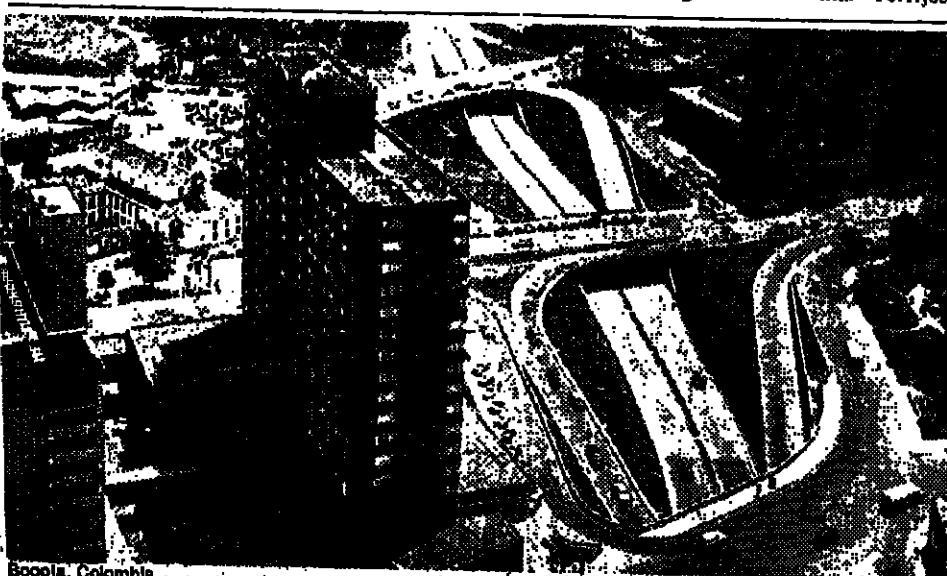
Is a second canal needed?

Given the current turnaround in the number of

transits through the present waterway and the reopening of the Suez Canal, again providing an alternate route to the Far East from the Atlantic, construction of a new canal might at first glance seem less than important.

But the need to get Alaskan oil and gas from the West Coast to the Eastern seaboard of the U.S. has altered this analysis. Moreover, projections for the next 15 or 20 years, done by Panama Canal analysts, suggest a slow increase in the volume of traffic on the present waterway.

In addition, the present Panama Canal, while still in good condition, requires ships to be raised and lowered over the continental divide as they transit from one side to the other. This is a time-consuming operation, and there has long been a feeling that a sea-level canal paralleling the present waterway in Panama or constructed elsewhere in Central America would be useful.



Colombian drug traffic: green lights all the way

By James Nelson Goodsell
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Bogotá, Colombia
• Sleek black Cadillacs, their armor plating barely visible, cruise the streets of the storied Caribbean city of Cartagena and the nearby bawdy port of Barranquilla, carrying the well-heeled directors of Colombia's expanding drug network.

• Millions of farmers, eking out a living in the Colombian Andes, plant and harvest a couple of marijuana crops yearly, glad for a cash crop that eases their desperate poverty.

• Jerry-built laboratories in the back of vans — playing the quiet streets of Bogotá, Colombia's capital, or such cities as Medellín, Cali, or Bucaramanga — process raw coca leaves into cocaine paste or powder.

• Lumbering propeller aircraft, warily ease down onto dirt runways nestled in narrow, remote valleys of the rugged mountains that traverse Colombia's Guajira peninsula, picking up cargoes of illegal drugs.

• Fast cabotage cruises along the coast, usually unheeded and unharmed, carry the cocaine, also in pick-up cargoes of drugs.

• On a back street in Santa Marta, a Caribbean coastal city, a shadowy figure meets in the early morning a man who a few hours later will preside at a court hearing on a drug case, and slip him an envelope.

These are some of the ingredients of Colombia's drug traffic that involves no fewer than 100,000 people.

From the peasant in the hill country of Antioquia to the sophisticated member of the "mafia" that runs the traffic, there is a slice of an ever-increasing pie. Each year hundreds of millions of dollars are handled in cash payments for drugs or services, and in payoffs. The total now is close to \$1 billion a year.

Just how much marijuana and cocaine are shipped out is hard to gauge with precision. But the amounts are large. Estimates suggest that 70 percent of the world's traffic in cocaine passes through Colombia — at least 80 tons an-

nually, and probably closer to 100 tons. While cocaine is merely processed here, with raw coca leaves being grown in abundance. More than half, perhaps as much as 65 percent, of the marijuana consumed in the United States is Colombian.

Most of the cocaine also eventually reaches the U.S. Some goes to Europe and Japan. So elusive is the drug network that Colombia's fledgling efforts to stem its growth have been virtually without success.

It is controlled by foreigners and Colombians who live well in fancy villas in Cartagena and Barranquilla and tend their underworld activities with an acumen that leaves Colombian authorities "breathless and begrudgingly admiring," as a top official of DAS, Colombia's federal bureau of investigation, put it.

"One shouldn't admire criminals," he went on, "but you have to hand it to these 'mafias' for the way they have built their empire, defying all sorts of obstacles."

"Now they are so strong that to root them out will take a major effort."

When the Colombian government began its fight against the drug traffic, it was as the trade itself is the official corruption that is spreading, as a result of the drug traffic. Payoffs are commonplace. Rumors abound that many prominent Colombian officials have their hands in the drug till.

In particular, Julio César Turbay Ayala, a candidate for the Liberal nomination for the presidency in next year's election, is accused openly of being involved — something he denies vehemently.

Judges are targets of assassination attempts if they rule against traffickers. One judge in the provincial city of Cali was killed as he attended a regional narcotics seminar for judges. He had been about to rule against traffickers.

"The message got through," said another judge, who asked anonymously, "I worry when over a drug case comes before my court."

A member of the newly formed government-sponsored antinarcotics council commented: "We have a viper in our midst. Unless we move quickly, it will strike all of us."

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Scientific breakthroughs retraced

Nazis' wartime synthetic fuel success researched

By Dudley Lyach
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

College Station, Texas
For two years, a research team at Texas A&M University has been tracing the energy records of Nazi Germany in an attempt to learn how Hitler's regime waged war almost totally on synthetic fuels.

By late 1939, almost 80 percent of the country's petroleum needs were being produced synthetically from materials like coal and sawdust," says Dr. Richard E. Walnerd, who heads the German Document Retrieval Project.

Thus far, Dr. Walnerd's 10-man research team has uncovered more than a million pages of German industrial documents dealing with synthetic energy processes, many of them ignored since the end of World War II. The researchers are indexing and cataloging the documents, using the computer at the U.S. Energy Research and Development Administration Technical Information Center at Oak Ridge, Tennessee.

Dr. Walnerd says technical experts will have to determine the value of what his team is uncovering, but he shares these observations:

— The Germans knew how to make synthetic oils from at least 20 different processes. And not just oils. "They were even making butter synthetically," he says.

— A synthetic fuel economy can be instituted quickly, if the German experience is any guide. Say Dr. Walnerd, "Some of their plants were built in as short as eight months' time."

— Some of the synthetic processes are so

"enormously difficult" that the most valuable knowledge the Texas A&M project may provide is in knowing which processes worked and which ones didn't.

— Compared with Nazi Germany's energy plan, the current U.S. plan is woefully inadequate. "This country's proposed plan covers 283 pages," he says. "The Germans' plan covered 6,000 pages."

At first, Dr. Walnerd had only scientists on his team. But today, nearly half of the staff is made up of historians whose primary job is to find the documents. Thus far, they have turned up materials — much of it in boxes unstrapped since they left Germany — in 23 repositories, including the Imperial War Museum in Britain, the National Archives in Washington, D.C., and U.S. Government document storage areas at

Maxwell and Wright-Patterson Air Force Bases.

"There has never been a similar opportunity in modern history," says Dr. Walnerd, who directs the university's Center for Energy and Mineral Resources. "This is a chance to investigate the entire industrial records of a country whose scientific and industrial expertise on this subject was advanced."

As word of the project spread, dozens of U.S. scientists who led Allied document retrieval teams at the end of the war and in some cases German technicians themselves have contacted the researchers.

The \$150,000 cost of the project thus far has been underwritten by three U.S. chemical companies: Union Carbide, Diamond Shamrock, and Dow Chemical Company, but the informa-

tion being uncovered is available to any company without charge.

Dr. Walnerd estimates that the project may run another five years and cost several million dollars, should its leaders and sponsors feel that the expenditures are justified. Dr. Kurt J. Irgolic, associate director of the project, says, "If we prevent merely the commission of a single mistake in the construction of the reactor of a demonstration plant, our project will pay for itself."

He, for one, believes the project is a "chance of a lifetime," noting the German's pre-war reputation for scientific achievements. "In the 1930s, you must remember that any American with ambitions in organic chemistry was finding some way to spend at least a year studying in Germany," he says.

World coffee prices not simmering down

By James Nelson Goodsell
Latin America correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Coffee prices are going to remain at or near recent high levels for some time to come — although there has been a slight downward trend in the past several weeks.

That's the word from coffee market analysts, who say that:

• Although there has been a substantial increase in production this year, world coffee production is still significantly below the levels of two or three years ago, before frost damaged the Brazilian crop.

• The Brazilian harvest this year will be

about 70 percent of pre-frost estimates and, while Colombia and Mexico both expect to increase production, these increases will be offset by declines in some African harvests.

But estimates of Brazilian production for 1977-78 are hard to come by, partly because of what some analysts call "a smoke screen" imposed by Brazilian coffee officials on production totals.

Brazil is the world's largest coffee producer, with Colombia running second. Traditionally, Brazil has so dominated the coffee market that its activities influence prices and just about everything else in the trade.

"There's hardly a need for an OPEC in coffee," comments one New York coffee broker. "Brazil sets the price, decides how much to sell, and when to sell it, to take advantage of the best price. Everyone else falls in line."

That sort of comment rankles Brazilian coffee officials. But coffee exporters in Santos and São Paulo admitted in mid-July that their country's 1977-78 crop "will set the price for the rest of the world, influenced also by government policy and plans to build up our reserves again," as one exporter put it.

Those reserves are a key factor in future coffee prices. If Brazil decides to hold 2- or 3 million bags off the market to store up against future years, there is little likelihood that there will be any significant price decline this year.

But Brazil is not tipping its hand on what it plans to do.

And the best that the coffee market people can do is estimate a Brazilian crop of 17 million bags — an 80 percent boost over the year before, but still 6 million bags under traditional



Coffee prices should remain high

production. Meanwhile, the coffee markets are estimating a total worldwide production of 70.4 million bags in 1977-78, up 14 percent overall from 1976-77, although still significantly down from 1974-75 production of 89 million bags.

The meaning of all this is continued high prices for coffee, the experts reckon. Although the dramatic jumps of the past two years are over, the price of coffee should be stabilizing in the months ahead at roughly the present levels.

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SPEECH TRAIN

from page 1

*America's one-two space punch

"Taking into account an 18-month stretch-out in the schedule mandated by Congress and inflation, we are within 5 percent of our original estimate," claims shuttle manager Robert Thompson. But because annual inflation is running from 7 to 10 percent, he says, shuttles to be built in the 1980s may cost \$650 million each instead of \$350 million in 1971 currency.

Although inflation continues to increase pressures on the program budget, the cost of the shuttle program still compares favorably with the cost of conventional launch vehicles. For some 600 flights anticipated between 1980 and 1991, the price tag for the shuttle is estimated at \$31.6 billion, compared with \$16.3 billion with one-flight-only rockets.

Highly one-third of the proposed shuttle missions would be flown for the Department of Defense, their requirements have added some 10 percent to the cost of building the craft.

Because NASA is determined to achieve low-cost space flight with its fleet of five shuttles, the agency is paring costs in many ways.

NASA is running a series of shuttle simulation missions to find out how management procedures can be streamlined. "We feel that missions can be run with significantly fewer people," says Carr Neel of NASA's Ames Research Center in California who participated in the most recent simulation. Mr. Neel and his colleagues also think the mountains of paper that were characteristic of the Apollo flights can be shrunk by 60 percent.

Also, the number of ground support people

who will be needed at Kennedy Space Center for a shuttle launch is 50. Some 500 people were used during Apollo lift-offs.

Although many NASA officials are working hard to make shuttle missions as much like routine airline trips as possible, it will be several years before the results of their efforts become clear.

The missions NASA planners would like to fly with the shuttle include high-volume global communications satellites, disaster warning satellites, more sophisticated weather eyes in the sky, earth resources observatories, and space manufacturing efforts.

A renaissance of lunar exploration — with unmanned rovers dropping floating balloons into the clouds of Venus, the returning of soil from Mars, a flyby of Halley's comet on its next visit, and a rendezvous with some asteroids (with some prospecting in mind) — are a few of the planetary missions which the shuttle could carry. Solar observatories and optical and radio telescopes also are among the scientific equipment which the shuttle could fit into its capacious cargo bay.

Present tests of the shuttle involve only the brief portion of the mission when it acts as a glider, swooping from outer space to an unpowered landing with the aid of five onboard computers.

The shuttle's flight characteristics, based on simulator experience, have been described as a cross between a surfboard and a rock. But Deke Slayton, head of the astronaut office, thinks it will be easy enough to fly.

*Southern Africa

to divorce what happens in these two territories from the tensions and uncertainties in South Africa itself.

Henry Kissinger, during his last year as U.S. secretary of state, secured the cooperation of South African Prime Minister John Vorster in a search for independence for both Rhodesia and Namibia under black governments likely to win international recognition. But Mr. Vorster clearly understood that in return for his cooperation, the United States would not put pressure on him or his cabinet to institute early constitutional change in favor of blacks in South Africa itself.

The arrival of the new Carter administration in Washington, with a new line on southern Africa — more particularly on South Africa — has roused in Mr. Vorster all the bitterness, doubt, and suspicion that can overwhelm a man who believes he is the victim of a broken bargain. These feelings were apparent in interviews this writer has had in the past 10 days with Mr. Vorster and two of his cabinet ministers.

The depth of Mr. Vorster's feeling came even more strikingly to the surface — and in public — in a speech the Prime Minister delivered in Pretoria Aug. 6. The result of American pressure, he said, "would be exactly the same as if [southern Africa] were subverted by Marxism."

After some further pointed remarks on President Carter's Africa policy — including a reference to the influence on it (as Mr. Vorster sees it) of the black vote in last year's presidential election — the Prime Minister said: "Do not make it impossible for South Africa to play its role in the free world."

Implicit in those words were the South African Government's longing for the West's closer identification of its interests with those of white South Africa and its reluctance to help the "white" settlers in Rhodesia and Namibia if those settlements are simply the prelude to turning the heat on South Africa itself.

In both Rhodesia and Namibia guerrilla forces are operating and demanding a dominant role, if not an exclusive monopoly, in the transfer of political power to blacks. In Rhodesia it is the Patriotic Front of Joshua Nkomo, and Robert Mugabe, in Namibia the South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) of Sam Nujoma. In Rhodesia, the guerrillas have been stepping up their campaign presumably to make a point to the three foreign ministers meeting in London.

In Rhodesia, white Prime Minister Ian Smith would resist to the last any handing of the country to the Patriotic Front "on a plate." In Namibia, which has been run by South Africa since the end of World War I, Prime Minister Vorster can be expected equally to resist a

straightforward handover to SWAPO.

But in their respective territories, both the Patriotic Front and SWAPO are likely to be reluctant to agree to completely free elections on a one-man, one-vote basis, including the African populations, because neither can be completely sure it would win.

To lose would mean, for either, forfeiting the considerable advantage each enjoys as the endorsed candidate of the Organization of African Unity, and, in the case of SWAPO, of the United Nations. To avoid such humiliation, each might argue that the present security arrangements — the South African Army in Namibia and the white-controlled security forces in Rhodesia — make free elections impossible and then announce that any proposed elections will be boycotted.

Both Mr. Vorster and even more, Mr. Smith, view with concern the British-U.S. contacts with the guerrilla organizations. The Western powers were talking last week with SWAPO leader Nujoma at United Nations headquarters in New York. Joshua Nkomo was received by British Prime Minister James Callaghan in London in the latter part of July. Mr. Nkomo has since been visiting Cuba and English-speaking countries in the Caribbean. And there is some speculation that he might get red carpet treatment in Washington before he returns to this side of the Atlantic.

Both Britain and Washington are concerned to keep their lines out to the guerrillas, initially to try to involve them in negotiated settlements in both Rhodesia and Namibia, but if that fails, to ensure that the guerrillas are left with a place to turn to besides the Soviet Union.

In Rhodesia, Prime Minister Smith is completely unresponsive to this line of thinking and is intent on trying to work out a settlement with black moderates which excludes the Patriotic Front — in his eyes a Communist terrorist organization. To achieve this, he needs the cooperation of Bishop Abel Muzorewa, who enjoys considerable support among Africans inside Rhodesia and has traveled to London to be there during the foreign ministers' meeting.

It is doubtful whether Mr. Smith would offer terms the bishop could accept without sacrificing his African following, but clearly the bishop does not want to be overlooked during the foreign ministers' deliberations.

Whatever the United States and British Governments might propose for Namibia and Rhodesia, they will need the cooperation — or at least the acquiescence — of South Africa for any hope of its successful implementation.

South Africa, in turn — and for all its current plique — needs continued association with the United States and Britain if its isolation is not to be sharpened. The challenge is to fit all the pieces together.

*12 year space trip

Besides the planets themselves, the Voyagers are to survey five of Jupiter's moons and seven of Saturn's. Each of these moons is large enough — rivaling Mercury or our own moon in size — to qualify as major solar system bodies in their own right.

If Voyager 1 successfully completes its scheduled survey of these planets and moons, and if Voyager 2 remains in good operating condition as it approaches Saturn, it will be redirected to go on to Uranus and perhaps to Neptune. The entire mission, from Earth to Neptune, could last through 1989.

To Mission Director John Casani, this presents a two-fold challenge. The navigation of both 815-kilogram (1,793-pound) spacecraft must be highly precise over vast distances. And the team that learns to manage this difficult assignment must be kept together for over a decade, during which there will be long periods of relative inactivity.

Mr. Casani says he hopes that team members can be reassigned to other projects during

such lulls. If not, he would have to recruit and train new people several times during the mission — an expensive procedure.

What makes the extended mission possible is a rare alignment of planets. The Voyagers won't have enough rocket power to visit all the outer planets. But as they approach one planet, they will be accelerated by its gravity and deflected on to a course for the next target. The planets now are lined up so that this "slingshot" effect can direct a spacecraft from Jupiter to Saturn to Uranus to Neptune.

Whether a Voyager reaches Uranus and Neptune or not, both craft eventually will leave the solar system, probably carrying a cosmic greeting card. Earth sounds including music, voices, rushing winds, and animal noises have been recorded. Pictures of such activities as people climbing mountains or eating ice cream have been recorded for television replay. At this writing, NASA had not given final approval for this project. But its supporters in the scientific community think it too imaginative a project to be turned down.

*Vance peace mission

talks, if the PLO accepted UN Security Council Resolution 242, which in effect calls for recognition of the state of Israel.

Israeli officials said they would "regret very much" PLO involvement in such talks, but the Israelis did not categorically reject the idea.

The talks could amount to "proximity" talks, such as Dr. Ralph Bunche carried out among the Middle East parties on behalf of the United Nations on the island of Rhodes in 1948. But Mr. Vance declined to go so far as to call the projected talks by that name, apparently because the Israelis last month proposed "proximity" talks.

The Arabs, in the American view, would not want to be put into the position of accepting an Israeli proposal. The main point is that the talks might offer a way around Israeli objections to a PLO presence at a full-scale peace conference.

Aside from what he could say concerning possible indirect talks among the parties in the United States next month, Mr. Vance painted an exceedingly bleak picture. The "fundamental differences are still there," he said.

The parties to the conflict remain divided, according to the secretary, on all the key issues — both procedural and "substantive." He declined to offer any details on points where he seemed to have "narrowed" the gap between the Arabs and Israelis.

One of the secretary's main achievements during his six-month 11-day trip appeared to have been to have forced the parties to come up with more detailed positions on all the issues than they have offered in the past.

But Mr. Vance ran into a stonewall with the Israelis on a wide range of issues, leaving the impression that U.S. ideas on a settlement now are closer in many respects to those of the

Arabs than those of the Israelis.

Despite Mr. Vance's reaffirmation of American support for Israel's defense needs, made in statements during his visit to Israel, Israel now appears to be in danger of becoming isolated — diplomatically and psychologically — unless it shows greater flexibility on the issues of territorial withdrawal and Palestinian "rights."

Much may depend on moves made over the next few weeks by the PLO.

Monitor correspondent John K. Cooley reports from Athens:

As Secretary Vance continued his talks in Israel the Palestine Liberation Organization leadership was trying to define the conditions for Palestinian participation — or nonparticipation — in a Middle East peace settlement.

PLO political department chief Faruk Khaddoumi said in Nicosia, Cyprus the PLO would welcome revision of UN Security Council Resolution 242 in order to make it mention "Palestinian national rights" instead of "Palestinian refugees," a move now being promoted by Saudi Arabia, France, and some other powers. But, he said, the PLO could not recognize Israel's right to exist "because Mr. Begin is saying the Jordan West Bank and Gaza Strip are part of Israel."

The radical Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), the strongest group in the "Rejection Front" which opposes the PLO leadership and is backed by Libya and Iraq, said in Beirut it would oppose even a revised Resolution 242 because the resolution would still state that Israel should have secure borders and that the state of war should be ended. The Rejection Front and its Arab supporters have said the "Front's guerrilla organizations would quit the PLO if the PLO attends a peace conference.

*'Great Rift Valley' issues

organized under the label of the Palestine Liberation Organization, known as the PLO. The PLO, when tested, pulled sharply back from the idea of recognizing the legitimacy of the state of Israel.

The mere fact that on his way home Mr. Vance was scheduled to talk to the British about southern Africa was in itself a form of pressure on the white-ruled governments to move faster along the road to accommodation with the black community. No major direct Anglo-American pressure is expected. It is supposed to be enough for London and Washington to keep in line with each other on the proposition that the only hope for the Rhodesian whites lies down the road of commitment to black majority rule.

The American and Soviet roles in northeast Africa continue to be in low key. Moscow clings to its difficult sponsor relationship to both Ethiopia and Somalia while the two are fighting a vigorous war with each other. Washington watches from a discreet distance after having made known its readiness to help Somalia.

Perhaps the most important fact about all this is that there is nothing else going on in the world making news comparable to what comes from these three areas in the accidental north-

Solzhenitsyn return to Russia?

Northfield, Vermont
Exiled Russian author Alexander Solzhenitsyn hopes to return to the Soviet Union from his Cavendish, Vermont home in 9 or 10 years, his wife, Natalia, says.

Mrs. Solzhenitsyn told a group of Russian-language students at Norwich University recently that the Nobel Prize-winning writer had found a "provisional" home in Vermont until the time is right for a return to his Russian homeland.

About one year ago, the Solzhenitsyns and their four children moved from Switzerland to Cavendish, where they live in a secluded home on about 50 acres of land.

Since then Mr. Solzhenitsyn has been working on what his wife described in Russian as a "rigid" schedule. She said her husband is completely absorbed by creative literary tasks, beginning his writing each day at 7 a.m. and working until 11, when he takes a one-hour break. Then he goes back to his writing from 1 to 5 p.m., she said.

She said his evenings are consumed by reading, except for time spent with the family, adding that he goes without holidays to complete his work.

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Amazon Indians vs. civil

Western civilization is moving closer to the remaining 180,000 Indians living in the jungles bordering the mighty Amazon River. Will it mean the unraveling of the aboriginal societies of these ancient peoples and the loss of their culture and self-sufficiency? Two Monitor reporters, who visited one of the tribes, discussed the problem with Brazilian officials and anthropologists.

By Clayton Jones and Ward Morehouse III
Staff correspondents of
The Christian Science Monitor

It is the end of the day for Banja, an Amazon shaman whose small jungle huddles within a brown thatch b waiting to watch an Indian dance passed down over centuries.

The fire casts flickering shadows on Banja's crown of green feathers and his red-painted body. He begins to chant in low grunts and stomps the earth. Staccato rhythm from a turtle-shell drum echoes into the black Amazon night. Banja leaps and crouches, imitating the grace of a jaguar which he hunts.

"He says the jungle either accepts you or rejects you," whispers our guide, Willy, himself an outsider accepted by the Indians.

The lonely village of Banja's tribe, called Tukano, sits in the rain forest on the equator near the Brazil-Colombia border. To reach Western man's nearest outpost — if they wanted to — these peaceful, primitive people would have to paddle three weeks in dugout canoes on the Amazon tributaries.

This night, however, Western civilization moves closer to their jungle lair as a new note joins Banja's Stone Age music.

In a darkened corner on the other side of the communal hut, a Tukano boy switches on a transistor radio left by an earlier visitor.

Then, while the tribe listens with one ear to their chief's ancient jungle chant, they listen with the other to the crackling, long-distance broadcast of an American football game from Cincinnati.

180,000 Indians remain

This surreal scene of a tribe discovered only eight years ago has symbolic overtones for the endangered culture of the remaining 180,000 Indians who are spread over the six countries that touch the waters of the mighty Amazon.

Far-reaching radio is just one of the cultural attractions — and shocks — that are unraveling the Amazon's fragile aboriginal societies.

"America's Indians are an example of what will happen to Brazil's Indians — living on reservations, in poverty," says Albiola Rita Ramos, an anthropologist at the University of Brasilia.

But unlike the slow taming of the U.S. frontier with horses and trains, Brazil's military-run government pushes for development with planes and tractors, calling for quick "integration" and "acculturation" of its majority share of the Amazon basin Indians. Since 1967, roads such as the coast-to-coast Transamazônica highway have been laid across the endless, sodden jungle, helping to relocate millions of poor peasants from the dry northeast section of the country.

Swamping ahead of civilization's road gangs and miners through the long-hidden lands are the government's agents ("settlers") from the National Indian Foundation (FUNAI). They, along with 38 types of religious missions, make the first delicate approach to the estimated 50,000 Indians not yet contacted by Western man. (Gifts are left on a platform near a tribe and, if the Indians leave their own gifts, then a friendly approach is made.)

FUNAI's official task of protecting the Indians, who make up less than 1 percent of Brazil's population, often conflicts with Brazil's dream of becoming a world econ-



Banja's village on tributary of upper Amazon. Monitor reporters reached village after hike

omic giant. But like a father guiding his children, FUNAI's director, Gen. Ismarth de Araujo Oliveira says, "The greatest dream for Indians is to integrate in the nation in the conditions that give them pride to say 'I am an Indian' and compete with Brazilians." He warns: "In 50 years, the Indians will not be known as we know them today."

Debate within Brazil focuses on the pace of Indian integration. With the aid of leading anthropologists, FUNAI has restricted missionary inroads and is helping the Indians market their crafts. Boundaries of a couple dozen reserves are being marked out in an attempt to retain the Indians' hunting grounds and aboriginal rights to land. The resulting protective enclaves often are referred to as "human zoos" by critics.

Missionaries impact debated

Missionaries, who believe they equip Indians with the spiritual buffer needed for the advance of "civilization" and assist them in their desire to read and write, are accused of breaking the kinship patterns of Amazon tribes. Mission outposts unwillingly act as instruments for the penetration of economic interests, argues Brazilian anthropologist Roberto Cardoso.

Indians have their own religion, says General Ismarth. "To force another religion is to bring disharmony in a tribe."

Even mild acculturation into Old World ways can end a tribe's natural self-sufficiency, forcing it into a cash econ-

omy and into a rootless dependency in city ghettos. "They have a communal life much like the primitive Christians-pure socialism," explains Warwick Kerr, director of Brazil's Amazon research institute in Manaus. "The Indians are emperor of the forest and yet has become the poorest man in our society."

Dr. Kerr insists Indians should be paid the highest wages for the "professional" work they can do and be integrated into the highest levels of society.

As an example, Dr. Kerr is guiding an experiment in which Sinta Larga ("wide belt") Indians from the Arapua River teach Brazilian students arrowmaking and other precision skills developed during centuries of living in harmony with the jungle.

But Brazil's noted spokesman for the Indians, Claudio Orlando Villas Boas, who championed the designation of the 11,000-square-mile Xingu National Park to protect 14 tribes, say any attempt to integrate Indians is the same as introducing a plan for their destruction. "We are not yet sufficiently prepared," he says.

Several dozen anthropologists, fearing imminent loss of age-old jungle wisdom, are recording the Indians' simple life and complex philosophies at posts scattered through the region's 150 aboriginal language groups.

Major developers of the Amazon, who clear-cut great swaths of tall, dripping forests, are beginning to learn the hard way that the Indians' practice of cutting only a few

TAIWAN ECONOMIC MINI-TIGER

By David R. Francis
Business and financial editor of
The Christian Science Monitor

Taiwan has a "gee-whiz" economy. It has made such progress that it astonishes and delights economists studying the development of the world's poorer countries. For instance:

Gee Whiz 1 — The Republic of China's total output of goods and services has grown at a real 9 percent rate over the past decade, despite a pause in 1974-75 as a result of the worldwide recession. That is far faster than the United States or Western Europe grew during their formative years.

Per capita income this year for the country's 18.5 million inhabitants should be about \$970. It was about \$244 a decade ago.

Gee Whiz 2 — Taiwan has spread the new prosperity to most of its people. Through land reform and other measures, the island nation has a good distribution of income — far better than most developing countries.

Gee Whiz 3 — Total trade has grown from \$1.4 billion in 1967 to \$15.7 billion last year. That's a 30.8 percent annual growth rate.

Those are the sort of statistics which reflect an exciting economic and business story — a tale told in this 16-page special section on Taiwan by two special writers for the Monitor, Neal A. Martin and David Tharp. Among the articles inside are:

Foreign bankers glad to lend Taiwan money — P. 4;

Sales of color TV and other electronic goods soar — P. 16.



Modern Taiwan is alive, well, and bustling

Chinese traditional blends with unconventional and cosmopolitan to create a dynamic mixture

By David Tharp
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Taipei, Taiwan
Modern Taiwan is manifestly alive and well. There is bustling activity everywhere. Shops are crisscrossed with consumer goods, and the city streets are jammed with shops.
The legendary Chinese gusto for good food can be satiated by a bewildering variety of restaurants offering the specialties of all the provinces of China. Japanese sushi is served up in Taipei as easily as a thick Western-style steak.
The diversity of the people is astounding. Moslems, monks, mini-skirted girls, and matrons are as ubiquitous as conservatively dressed bankers, T-shirted laborers, and uniformed high school students.

In a way, Taiwan has a conservative, traditional society weighted with Chinese customs. But it is also dynamically striving to mesh this tradition with its unconventional, progressive attitudes. The result is an agricultural-industrial, Asian-Western, uniquely emerging identity.

The government and business pride themselves on the booming economy.

A traditional symbol of success is Wu Yau-ten, a Kaohsiung millionaire. He worked his way up from being a laborer on a road construction gang to own one of the largest, most modern department stores in Taiwan.

However, there are non-Marxian young intellectuals in Taiwan just as in the West who question the intensive pursuit of money that is widespread among this island's eager capitalists.

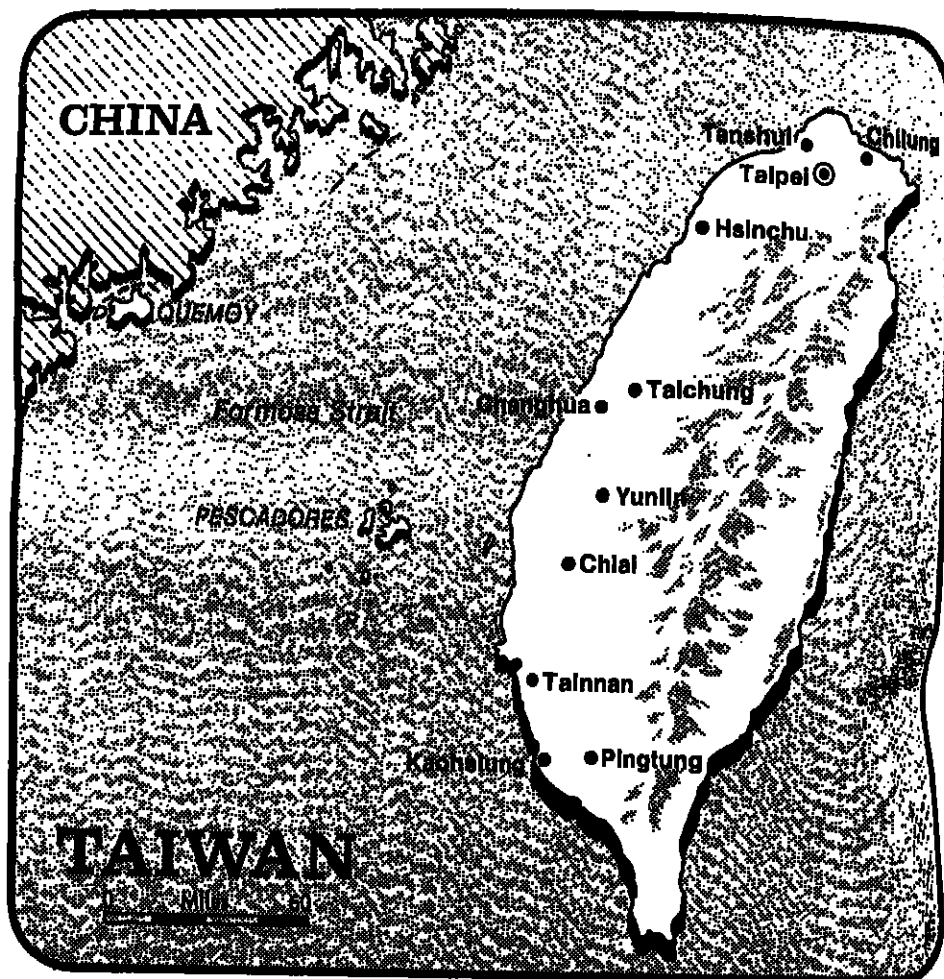
Thinking the unthinkable

There is also a newly emerging small group of liberals who openly suggest dialogue with Peking to arrive at a modus operandi for peaceful co-existence. This notion was unthinkable in the past; and not a line of thought which enjoys much popular support today. But at least it can be discussed more freely nowadays, a sign that even the Kuomintang — the governing party — is changing with the times.

Yet, for many people in Taiwan, the reasons given by a Chinese communist MIG-19 jet pilot for his defection to Taiwan on July 7 support the Kuomintang's stand that the Republic of China offers a viable alternative to the system on the mainland.

Despite mainland charges that foreign firms established in export processing zones "exploit" Taiwan's cheap labor to make "super profits," it is also undeniable that foreign investment on the island has been partly responsible for raising the standard of living to a position second only to Japan in Asia.

Further, the benefits of economic growth spread throughout the Taiwanese population. This has been attested to by independent foreign



research surveys, such as in the Oxford University publication "Redistribution With Growth."

But this is not to say that poor people do not exist in Taiwan. They do, and there are dirty

back alleys to be found behind fashionable streets where shops sell European luxury items at high prices.

The government appears committed to eliminating the inequities which still exist in Taiwan's society. Premier Chiang Ching-kuo often takes to the provinces to meet the common man in the fields, in the factories, and sometimes in the prisons. He spent part of his Chinese New Year recently talking with inmates of a prison near Taipei.

Construction projects

Some observers of the Taiwan situation say the 10 major government-promoted construction projects — (1) the north-south highway, (2) railway electrification, (3) the north link railway, (4) the Taoyuan airport, (5) Taichung harbor, (6) Suao harbor, (7) the integrated steel mill, (8) the petrochemicals development program, (9) the Kaohsiung shipyard, and (10) the nuclear power plants — are partly meant to take the nation's minds off the unpleasant prospect of the U.S. breaking relations with Taipei in the near future.

True or not, the people will unquestionably benefit from the improved infrastructure. It will further boost their quality of life.

Industrially, the 10 projects will prepare the country to move into a technology-oriented, capital-intensive phase of development suitable for competing in world markets with the giants — Japan, the U.S., and Western Europe.

Mainland China has been sending its urban young into the fields to increase agricultural production. Taiwan's youth are leaving the fields for the cities and crop production in massive numbers.

To identify Taiwan with old clichés and stereotypes of either the political or social variety does the people an injustice. The country has moved from being a backward colony covered in 1945 to a position in the world which invites respect for its economic accomplishments.

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Two-way trade running at better than \$4 billion

American salesmen are red-carpet visitors

By David Tharp
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Taipei, Taiwan
Since President Nixon's Peking trip in 1972, trade between Taiwan and the United States has increased significantly. In 1972 two-way trade totaled \$1.7 billion, compared with \$4.6 billion in 1976. It stood at \$2.27 billion in the first five months of this year.

The U.S. ranks first in the Republic of China's export markets, taking almost 40 percent of the island's total exports, while Taiwan was 12th among U.S. trading partners last year.

"The U.S. provided the tools to develop and, sure, we have made money in the process. But Taiwan is a great example of how a free people can succeed," says Marjorie Van Giesel, president of the American Chamber of Commerce in Taiwan.

"American businessmen have been part and parcel of their praiseworthy development," he added.

The feelings are mutual. Throughout Taiwan Americans are warmly welcomed. "It's kind of embarrassing at times," laughed an American businessman who has been here eight years, "but one thing is for sure, we don't have many friends like these people."

Aid flow stanching

During the 1950s Taiwan received big injections of U.S. aid, plus capital and raw materials to develop basic industries.

Aid stopped in 1965 as the U.S. became an important market for products of Taiwan's labor-intensive industries.

Dr. Sun Chen, vice-chairman of the Economic Planning Council, says Sino-U.S. trade has played an important role in the island's development.

"As this country is now carrying out the six-year economic development plan, many sophisticated U.S. capital goods as well as technology, are urgently needed," he said in an interview.

American economists predicted that 1977 would provide healthy sales in Taiwan for U.S. exports, especially in view of a desire by the government to increase buying from the U.S. to offset a large trade imbalance.

Last year Taiwan had a \$1.4 billion surplus. In response, the government has instructed that government procurement be limited to North America and Europe, in some cases from U.S. suppliers only.

Sales vista wide

American firms could sell equipment for building and construction, hotels, and restaurants, auto servicing, food processing and packaging, laboratories, processing and quality control, pollution control, and data processing and data communications, metalworking, the electronics industry, plus machine tools, marine supplies, and many other categories.

Trade between the U.S. and Taiwan expanded in the first five months of 1977, while Taiwan's overall foreign trade appeared likely to fall short of its \$18.5 billion aim for the year unless a vigorous rebound takes place in the second half.

Two-way trade for the January-May period, amounting to \$2.27 billion, increased 26.7 per-

cent over the same period last year. Of this total, exports to the U.S. accounted for \$1.25 billion — 37.3 percent of Taiwan's foreign exports.

Imports from the U.S. stood at \$1.02 billion, about 31 percent of Taiwan's total imports during the period. This was an increase for the U.S. of 47.5 percent over the same period last year.

Taiwan ran a surplus of \$228 million, a decrease of \$180 million from the same period in 1976, reflecting the government's efforts to narrow the trade balance.

Japan was Taiwan's second-largest trading partner after the U.S. in the January-May period, taking 12.3 percent, or \$412.9 million, of its exports.

Target falling short

However, the government reported a shortfall of about \$1.04 billion from its world trade target for January-May.

This was blamed in part on the rising tide of protectionism in the U.S. Shipments of major export items such as textiles, nonrubber footwear, and canned goods were said to be affected by import restrictions already in effect or pending.

There are also fears that protectionism in the U.S. could affect TV sets, leather garments, bicycles, handbags, and cookware.

The trade performance has also much to do with slim corporation profits. Razor-thin profits took a heavy toll on capital goods imports, as many deficit-ridden firms curbed capital spending.

"I don't believe the U.S. will go protectionist in the foreseeable future," predicted Y. T.

Wong, director general of the Board of Foreign Trade. "I think the Carter administration has a sincere intention to keep the U.S. market free as it is."

"If the U.S. became really protectionist in its trade policies, the result would be so far-reaching that it would change the whole political structure of the world," he added.

Anti-boycott law hailed

Despite concern over American restrictions, relief surged through Taipei when President Carter signed the anti-boycott law June 21.

The law prohibits U.S. firms from abiding by boycotts imposed on them by foreign countries. Although the law stems from problems of American companies doing business in the Middle East, it will also apply to cases involving Communist China.

"It has been reported that the Chinese Communists have a blacklist covering all those American firms that have good trade and investment relations with us," reported the Taipei Chinese-language Central Daily News. But with the anti-boycott law in force, it said, American firms would not bow to Peking pressure to cut off trade with Taiwan.

Not that it has much to worry about. The 1976 trade between the U.S. and Peking was a modest \$300 million, the U.S.-Taiwan turnover was \$4.6 billion.

As if this were not enough, the Taiwan-U.S.A. Economic Council in June promised to help U.S. investors make more capital and technological outlays in Taiwan.

American investments here are already big (\$491 million) and far ahead of Japan (\$246 million), the second-largest investing nation.

Taiwan's Premier calls defense treaty vital

By Neil A. Martin
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Taipei, Taiwan
Abrogation of the mutual defense treaty between the United States and the Republic of China (ROC) would imperil more than the security of Taiwan, according to Premier Chiang Ching-kuo.

It would also seriously jeopardize the stability and prosperity of the United States and other nations of the western Pacific, Mr. Chiang stated.

Mr. Chiang, elder son of the late Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, was appointed Premier in 1972. He was elected chairman of the central committee of the ruling Kuomintang on April 28, 1975, about three weeks after his father's passing.

Premier Chiang has sought to bring the government closer to the people. He likes to make unannounced visits to sports events, construction sites, homes for the aged, and so on to chat with people and shake their hands.

The Chinese leader, in reply to written questions, also dealt with Taiwan's business future as diplomatic recognition of mainland China spreads.

Do you anticipate any change in U.S. policy or attitudes toward the ROC under the new administration?

The relations between the Republic of China and the United States are traditionally those of close and friendly. I am convinced that the continuing cooperation and mutual trust of the two countries is imperative in safeguarding Asian-Pacific security and ensuring world peace. As the leader of the free world, the United States should be fully aware that no matter what steps the Chinese Communists take to cover up their intentions, they will never change their basic nature of aggressiveness.

Does President Carter's warning about violations of "human rights" in other



Premier Chiang Ching-kuo

countries pose any special problems or concerns in your country?

I wholeheartedly approve of President Carter's efforts to emphasize morality and human rights in international affairs. The Republic of China is a democratic country based on constitutional rule and has always respected human rights. We are deeply concerned about the inhuman life of our 800 million compatriots enslaved under Communist tyranny. They have no freedom and their human rights.

Can the ROC survive without the protection of the U.S.-ROC security pact?

The U.S.-ROC Mutual Defense Treaty is a link in the western Pacific collective security system of the United States. If the treaty did not exist, much more than the security of the Republic of China would be imperiled. The stability and prosperity of the United States, the other free nations of the western Pacific, and the whole of the Asian-Pacific region also would be seriously jeopardized.

Does the continued diplomatic recognition of Red China by other world governments pose any special economic hardships for the ROC?

The Republic of China is prepared to maintain good diplomatic relations with all free and democratic countries. I wonder what benefits have accrued to those governments recognizing the Chinese regime. As a matter of fact, many of the countries which have recognized the Chinese Communists are wary of them. Ironically, they are often more friendly to us than to the Chinese Communists. As to whether there have been any economic effects, our highly developed economy should be a sufficient answer.

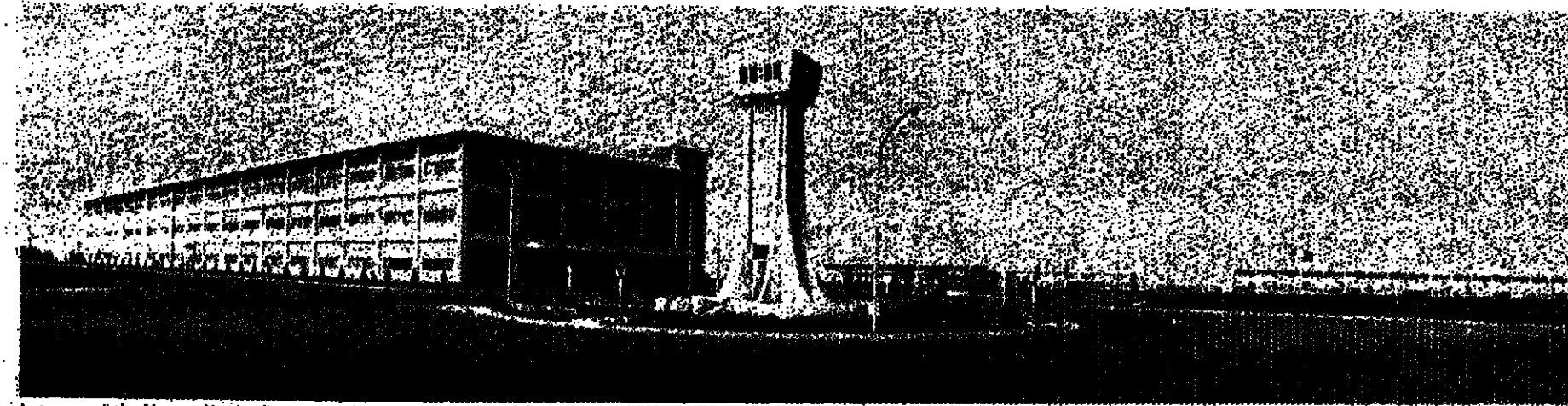
Will international investors in the future become more and more hesitant to invest in Taiwan for fear of jeopardizing future business possibilities in mainland China?

Most of the international investors are from strong industrial countries. Considering Taiwan's social stability and good investment climate, there is no need for them to worry about the Chinese Communists and hesitate to invest in Taiwan.

Do you feel the ROC is strong enough to weather future economic recessions and changes in world-trade trends, and patterns?

In the last two or three years, the Republic of China has been coping with economic recession. We have reduced to the minimum the damages inflicted on our economy by the world economic cycle. We are working hard to improve our fiscal and tax structure and to strengthen the other fields of our economic system. We are confident that we have become more competent to cope with any future economic recessions. We also have anticipated the continuing changes in the trends and patterns of international trade. Our government and people are striving to adjust our industrial structure and to perfect and develop our trade organizations.

TAIWAN IS THE PLACE FOR INVESTORS



A corner of the Nantze Export Processing Zone, one of the three export processing zones in Taiwan.

Investment climate in Taiwan, an island province of the Republic of China, remains highly favorable. There are now 269 American investors in the country with a total capital exceeding US\$500 million.

These smart, far-sighted businesspersons have been reaping large profits and enjoying, among other things, a skilled, well educated labor force at reasonable wages, and government incentives for many industries. Taiwan has three export processing zones to facilitate investments in

industrial production for export. Enterprises in these zones are eligible not only to the benefits of ready-built factory buildings and plant sites, well-developed infrastructure, but also to special privileges of importing duty-free machinery and equipment, raw materials and semi-finished products.

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"We are more than satisfied with our price controls policy," adds Mr. Chi. "It's been effective in the past and we think it will continue to be effective in the future."

Where Taiwan gets its energy

Nuclear plant on order to supplement imported oil

By David Tharp
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Taiwan's massive industrial leap to developed-nation status is taking place virtually without any domestic energy resources.

Oil is all imported. (One billion dollars worth in 1976.) Nuclear power has been chosen to help diversify energy sources, thus saving an estimated eight million kiloliters of fuel by 1984. In 1982 Taiwan Power Company's total electrical output was 331,000 kilowatts, but by the end of 1984 it will be 11.2 million kilowatts, with nearly 50 percent of that produced by three nuclear power stations.

Near the village of Chinshan on Taiwan's northern coast, the first atomic plant is close to completion. Tests will be carried out at the end of 1977, with full output planned by the beginning of next year. Chinshan will have two 636,000 kilowatt units.

A second plant under construction will go into operation a year later, also in northern Taiwan. This will produce 985,000 kilowatts each from two reactors.

The third plant will be constructed near Kaohsiung in southern Taiwan and will have two reactors capable of producing 950,000 kilowatts each.

Financed by U.S. loans

Taiwan Power's three nuclear plants are being financed with \$1 billion in loans from the U.S. Export-Import Bank. All major equipment — and much of the fuel — will come from the United States.

In 1970, Taiwan ratified the nuclear nonproliferation treaty and agreed to accept nuclear safeguard controls on their nuclear systems. A year later, however, the International Atomic Energy Commission, which administers nuclear arms controls, excluded Taiwan from its membership.

Taiwan denies that it is even remotely considering the possibility of producing nuclear weapons, although their technology is advanced enough to do so.

"Everybody knows they have the potential, but they are also aware of U.S. feelings on the subject," says a diplomat in Taipei.

Also, Taiwan Power has signed contracts for enriched nuclear fuel 30 years in advance with the United States. These fuel supplies could always be cut if arms development were suspected.

U.S. training operators

Taiwan also depends on the U.S. to train its reactor operators and nuclear engineers, who spend carefully supervised apprenticeships at Atomic Energy Commission plants in the states.

Construction has moved carefully and with painstaking thoroughness at Chinshan with Taiwanese and American nuclear engineers working together on the completion of the plant.



By R. Norman Mathew, staff photographer

Chinshan plant — one of three planned

Republic of China facts

Area: Just under 14,000 square miles, or about the size of Holland. Taiwan, the major island, is about 100 miles off the coast of southeastern China.

Population: About 16.5 million.

Language: Mandarin Chinese is the official language. English and Japanese are widely spoken.

Capital: Taipei (population 2 million).

Gross national product: \$17.1 billion (1976).

Exports: \$8.1 billion (1976).

Imports: \$7.6 billion (1976).

Trade with U.S.: \$4.9 billion (exports to U.S., \$3.1 billion; imports from U.S., \$1.8 billion — 1976 figures).

People: Chinese except for about 285,000 aborigines.

Religion: Buddhism, Taoism, Christianity, and Islam.

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Like they do in so many other countries, petrochemicals have been playing a significant role in enhancing the standard of living in Taiwan, and helping bring Taiwan a more dynamic, prosperous economy in the years to come.

The Chinese Petroleum Corporation (CPC) has long been known as the pioneer of petrochemical industry in Taiwan. With its well-trained scientists and technicians, sound management and the enormous capital investment, the CPC has already built Taiwan's three naphtha cracking plants within the last ten years and the total annual output of ethylene has now reached 568,000 tons.

Demand for petrochemical products is expected to grow continuously. And Taiwan offers an unique opportunity and very good environment for any new joint venture in the promising industry. Inquiries on capital investment in Taiwan's petrochemicals are welcome.



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'Made in Taiwan' often means 'Made by Nan Ya'

By Neil A. Martin
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Plastics company reaches distant lands, mostly U.S.,
with vast array of computer-controlled products

Taipei, Taiwan
Few Americans have ever heard of Nan Ya Plastics Corporation. But there is a good chance that they have bought one or more of the company's products in the past.

It may have been a shower curtain for the bathroom, floor tiles for the kitchen, a roll-up window shade for the den. Or it may have been a synthetic leather handbag, wallet, or a pair of shoes. Or it could have been anyone of the countless household or general consumer items, stamped "Made in Taiwan," and sold in retail shops and department stores across the United States.

More often than not, "Made in Taiwan" means "Made by Nan Ya," Taiwan's largest manufacturer and exporter of plastic products. Last year, Nan Ya sold more than \$350 million worth of tableware, umbrellas, toys, rainwear, wall paneling, floor covering, and building supplies plus thousands of yards of vinyl sheeting, synthetic leather, polyester filament, and textured yarn.

More than 70 percent of the firm's output was exported to the United States.

Sales volume triples

"Our name might not be a household word among Americans," smiles William C. L. Lin, a Nan Ya executive, "but our presence there is very real. The United States is very important to us, and we like to think that we are important to it. Both countries benefit from our trade."

To be sure, Nan Ya benefits from its burgeoning business with the United States. For five consecutive years, the company has been

Taiwan's largest manufacturer in terms of sales volume. From a little more than \$100 million in 1972, Nan Ya's sales volume has tripled over the last five years, reaching \$350 million in 1976, a whopping 118 percent increase over the year before. This year Nan Ya officials predict a 60 percent growth in total sales and a "healthy" increase in earnings.

Coming at a time when much of Taiwan's plastics and textiles industry is still struggling to shake off the deadly chill of sluggish overseas markets and excessive competition, this outlook is remarkable.

"Even during the depths of the 1974 recession," Mr. Lin recalls, "we managed to make a \$10 million net profit and pay our employees a six month's bonus instead of the one month's additional salary usually given to factory workers each year by other companies."

In many ways, Nan Ya's success mirrors that of Taiwan's and the factors that have helped to catapult the plastics manufacturer to the head of its class are not dissimilar from those that have helped to make Taiwan one of the world's most aggressive and most successful salesmen.

Low operations overhead

At the base of Nan Ya's success "pyramid" is a low operations overhead. In terms of both the cost of building and depreciating modern plants and equipment, and wages paid to employees.

Mr. Lin estimates that because construction labor is cheap in Taiwan and because much of Nan Ya's equipment is locally produced, rather than imported, the cost of building a modern

plastics facility to Nan Ya is about half that of what it would cost to build in the United States or Japan.

"Our engineering costs about 25 percent of those in the U.S.," he explains, "and 80 percent of our equipment is made in Taiwan. We only import the most important pieces. So the total cost of our plants is about half that of a U.S. plastics plant. And this makes our depreciation charges very low."

Nan Ya's labor costs are also low, compared with other countries, as they are for almost all Taiwan industry.

Mr. Lin estimates that labor costs account for less than 10 percent of the company's total overhead, compared with 15 to 18 percent average in the United States and 12 to 16 percent in Japan. The cost in wages of running one calendaring machine (which produces vinyl sheeting) over three work-shifts, he figures, is around \$750 per month in Japan, whereas in Taiwan it is only around \$250. In Korea, the cost is around \$150, but other costs are higher because Korea must import all of its raw materials from Japan.

This points up another cost savings for Nan Ya over its foreign competitors. Because it is a member of the Formosa Plastics Group, made up of eight chemicals-plywood companies with total sales of over \$500 million annually, Nan Ya is able to buy its vinyl chloride monomer (used to make PVC, polyvinyl-chloride) from a sister company at prices much lower than the world price. Nan Ya pays about \$480 per metric ton for its made-in-Taiwan chloride, compared with the approximate U.S. price of \$550, and \$520 in Japan.

"As a result of capacity additions and improvements in our processing abilities," Mr. Lin adds, "we might be able to get this price down even further, to around \$450 per ton, in the near future."

Equipment modernized

Two years ago, Nan Ya installed a computer to shepherd its production processes, added new calendaring machines, and doubled its output of PVC sheeting and synthetic leather. As a result, the company claims today that it is the world's largest PVC processor.

The computer installation underscores another factor in Nan Ya's success — modernization. Nan Ya continually pours more money each year into upgrading and modernizing its production processes and facilities. This helps to keep its production costs in trim.

Over the past five years, the company has invested more than \$60 million in adding the latest equipment and technology in such things as computer-controlled calendars for vinyl sheeting, high-speed extrusion machines for plastic pipes, multiple color print machines for wall covering, a new French-made spinning machine for making polyester filaments; all this during a period when most other companies were entrenching because of the recession.

Nan Ya also emphasizes new products as well as new equipment. The company has a research staff of more than 100 employees who churn out 10 to 15 new products a year. Mr. Lin says, many of which turn out to be high-profit yielding items for the company.

"We may not be as big as Du Pont or Union Carbide," Mr. Lin muses, "but we put just as much importance on research and development as anyone. It is the only way to keep growing."

Islanders' farming reaps a bonus in export income

By David Tharp
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Taipei, Taiwan

Rice, Taiwan's main staple food, is so plentiful this year that authorities have run out of storage space for it. With tons of rice piling up in fields waiting for silo space, the central government urged food bureau officials to find a solution.

If possible the huge surpluses should be exported, said a member of the Yuan (legislature).

The high productivity of rice is symbolic of Taiwan's self-sufficiency in food despite the limited amount of arable land on the island (25 percent).

From 1952 to '65 agricultural products, especially sugar, were Taiwan's most important foreign exchange earners until fast expansion of manufacturing industries radically changed the country's earning pattern.

The export value of agricultural products is increasing every year, but in relation to industrial products, their percentage is steadily decreasing.

In 1976 the exports of agricultural products amounted to \$406 million, an increase of 37.3 percent over 1975. But this was still only 5 percent of Taiwan's total export value.

Nevertheless, viewed from the perspective of the immediate postwar period in 1945, agricultural development has been one of Taiwan's success stories.

"During the Japanese occupation [1895-1945], I can only remember eating rice once a year at a special festival," said an elderly Chinese

in Kaohsiung. "Poor people like me only ate sweet potatoes. Now I eat rice with every meal and young people think sweet potatoes are a delicacy. Ironie, isn't it?"

In the 1950s a series of land reform programs implemented by the government eliminated the unhealthy tenant system. Before, farmers paid more than 50 percent of their total crop yield to their landlords. In extreme cases, the rental rate was as high as 70 percent.

In 1949 the government reduced all-rents to 37.5 percent of the estimated annual yield of the tenant farmers' main crop. In 1951 public lands were sold to incumbent tenants. Then, in the most important part of the reform in 1953, individual ownership of land was limited to 7.4 acres.

Any land owned over this amount had to be sold to the government and was resold to tenants.

American financial and technical assistance played a key role in Taiwan's agricultural rehabilitation and planning.

Development projects over the last 20 years have concentrated on upgrading rural facilities and improving the farmer's livelihood. Coastal dikes, drainage canals, rural roads, water supply systems, sewers, hospitals, and schools have been built throughout the countryside.

Farm management is being modernized, agricultural marketing improved, computerized information systems installed, and high-yield crops researched at modern experimental stations such as the Asian Vegetable Research and Development Center near Tainan, in southern Taiwan.

The results have been impressive. Since 1950



Rice threshing machine

By R. Norman Matheny, staff photographer

Abundant rice harvest — symbol of Taiwan's self-sufficiency in food

crop production has doubled, livestock production increased four times, and fishery yields, eight times.

This has been accomplished despite the fact the farming population has decreased from 76 percent of the population in 1950 to 37 percent last year. Taiwan's total population is 16.5 million.

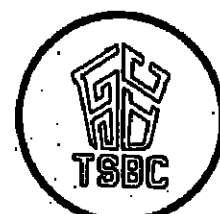
Family income in rural areas increased in 1976. For each farm household with an average family of 8.91 persons, the income increased an average of 5.88 percent, from \$3,574 in 1975 to \$3,782 last year.

Even with these income gains, farmers have not kept pace with their city cousins, who

make an average of 20 to 30 percent more at industrial jobs.

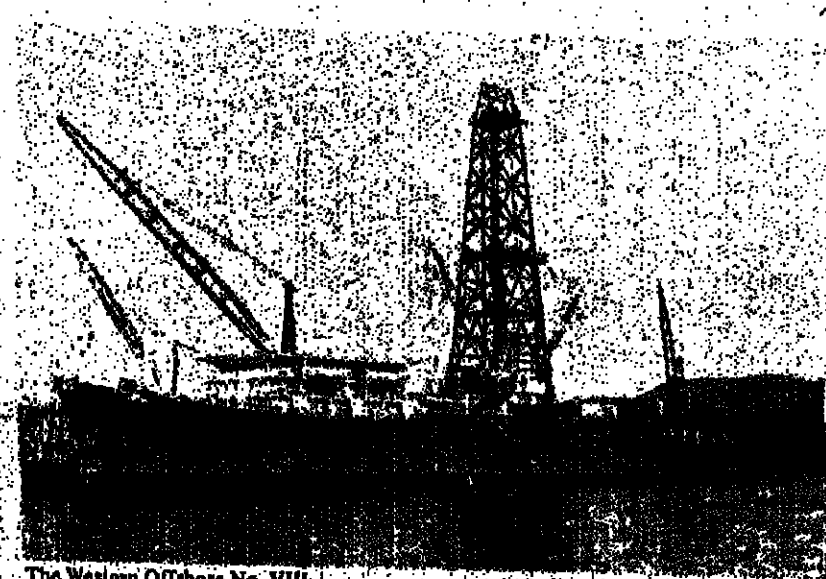
"The young people are leaving the farms for the cities," says agronomist Lin Tu-hsing, who gives extension courses to farmers at Pingtung Province's agricultural improvement station.

To aid agricultural development and help raise farm income, the government allocated loan funds for the 1977-78 fiscal year to finance the following projects: (1) research to increase farm, fish, and livestock production; (2) rural community development; (3) development of hog raising technology; and (4) acceleration of farm mechanization.



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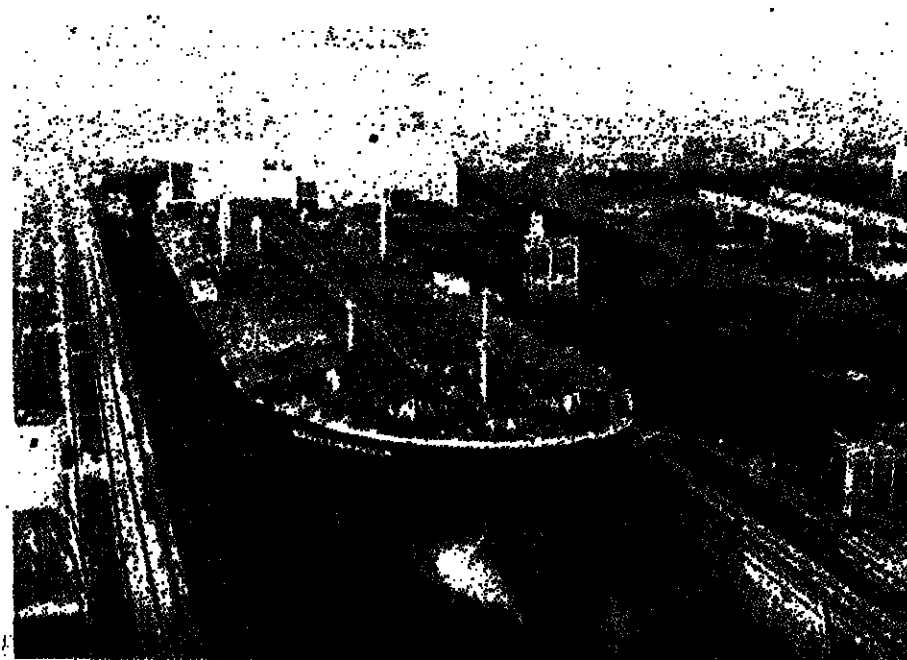
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'Less-warm relationship' with U.S. concerns Taiwan

Visits from Washington
officialdom decreasing

By David Tharp

Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Taipei, Taiwan
Going almost unnoticed except for the flag flying above the tattered wall that surrounds it, the U.S. Embassy in Taipei stands a few blocks west of the city's central train station.

The small, unimpressive, two-story building's facilities are inadequate. So consulate information and trade-office services are housed at separate sites in widely different parts of the city.

Local Chinese language newspapers reported with tongue in cheek last month that real estate purchased by the embassy 10 years ago to build a new set of offices still remains unused. No construction appears to be contemplated for the vacant lot.

"The Americans are probably saving their money to build in Peking," says a Chinese Government official half jokingly, and while the White House denies there are plans afoot to recognize the People's Republic of China (PRC), it is well known that funds for improving or expanding official American facilities on Taiwan are quietly disapproved by the Pentagon and State Department.

Taipei notes bitterly that visits by high-ranking U.S. officials have decreased significantly since President Nixon's trip to Peking in 1972.

"We usually expect official visits from Washington now around December," says a disgruntled source in Taipei, "just in time for them to do a few days Christmas shopping."

Contacts between Republic of China (ROC) Government figures and U.S. Embassy officials are almost to the point where both sides feel they have met to discuss a tragedy in the other's family.

"Basically, we have a fine substantial relationship," says Frederick Chen, a Yale graduate and Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, "but there are some aspects which are absent. I cannot describe our relationship as a warm or intimate one. There are few consultations at a high level following the U.S. intention to improve its relationship with Peking."

James Shen, the Taiwanese ambassador to Washington, for example, has tried unsuccessfully so far to meet with President Carter to discuss the Taiwan issue.

U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance's recent Asian policy speech in New York incensed Taipei, not so much for his pledge to continue talks to eventually normalize relations with Peking, but for the conspicuous lack of reference to Taiwan.

In short, the Taiwanese feel they are being treated insultingly by the U.S. despite the long association between the two governments, and 60 treaties and agreements which both countries observe in regard to each other.

The Taiwanese also took Mr. Vance's speech to mean that President Carter had inched

closer to accepting Peking's three conditions for the establishment of full diplomatic relations: (1) derecognition of Taiwan, (2) withdrawal of all U.S. troops stationed here (1,400 military advisers), and (3) cancellation of the U.S.-Taiwan Mutual Security Treaty.

Of the three conditions proposed by Peking for full relations with the U.S. the most troublesome is the one calling for abrogation of the defense pact with Taiwan.

"Nobody wants to have to live with his conscience if he is saddled with the onus of abandoning Taiwan to a PRC attack across the Taiwan Straits," says an American source.

But even if the consequences of dropping recognition of Taiwan were not that drastic, American businessmen in Taiwan are not entirely convinced by the "business as usual" promises proffered by U.S. officials who discount the possibility of a Chinese invasion of Taiwan.

The American Chamber of Commerce in Taipei wrote directly to the White House to ask the following questions:

1. To what extent, if any, would normalization of relations between the U.S. and China mean that the U.S. recognizes the right of the Chinese to regulate the activities of U.S. business, including airlines, banks, manufacturers, and others in Taiwan?

2. If U.S. policy were to lead to derecognition of Taiwan, what steps would the U.S. take to ensure that present commitments and investment guarantees to American businesses in Taiwan are honored?

3. If Taiwan is "derecognized," how would Exim Bank financing and Overseas Private Investment Corporation political risk insurance be made available for new U.S. investments in Taiwan?

4. Having encouraged Taiwan through special lower tariffs for developing countries manufactured products, most-favored nation status, and other means to gear its industry toward export trade with the U.S., how will Taiwan-based business exports be treated if normalization occurs?

5. What, if anything, would replace the dozens of bilateral and multilateral agreements between the U.S. and Taiwan affecting trade, investment, communications, transportation, and the protection of certain individual rights?

The chamber's letter, representing over 200 U.S. firms in Taiwan, was sent to President Carter April 12. To date no reply has been made to these questions despite a follow-up letter mailed by chamber president Martin Van Gessel in June.

"We do not object to improving relations with the People's Republic of China as long as it is advantageous to the United States and not at the expense of the Republic of China," Mr. Van Gessel explains.

The "Japanese formula" for the U.S. continuing relations with Taiwan has been frequently mentioned by Peking. This would mean downgrading the American presence on Taiwan to trade office status to open an embassy in Peking.

"The only trouble with that idea," criticizes an American observer in Taipei, "is that the Japanese count on us maintaining our present arrangement with Taiwan in order to protect their investment on the island."

It is the "post-normalization" debate which seems to be occupying the minds of American policymakers. The act of normalization itself seems to be taken as a foregone conclusion even among Taiwanese officials in private conversations.

Taipei, Tokyo keep liaison through 'trade embassies'

Special to

The Christian Science Monitor

Taiwan has formal diplomatic ties with only one Asian nation - Korea. However, what it lacks in formalities with Japan and Southeast Asia is more than compensated for through substantial multibillion-dollar trade relations.

Tokyo and Taipei maintain nongovernmental ties through unofficial embassies called the "Japanese Interchange Association" and the "Taiwan East Asia Relations Association." This arrangement was agreed upon following Japan's normalization of relations with the People's Republic of China. Japan is Taiwan's No. 2 trade partner after the United States.

In 1976 two-way trade between Japan and Taiwan was \$3,546 billion. Japan had a surplus of \$1,356 billion in its favor. How to narrow Japan's lion share of the trade is one of Taiwan's toughest economic problems.

"At the moment we shall have to tolerate a huge deficit," admits Y. T. Wong, director of the Board of Foreign Trade. "But I don't think Japan can maintain this advantage for much longer. We are gradually gaining a competitive edge over them."



By Neil A. Martin

Yi-Ting Wong

Taiwan manufacturers are taking a page from Japanese trading methods employed with the Americans and Europeans to expand their exports in Japan by offering products that cater especially to Japanese tastes and market demands.

Political relations with Japan have not been particularly cordial following Tokyo's opting for an embassy in Peking at Taiwan's expense.

In 1974, two years after Japan recognized Peking, bilateral relations were dealt another sharp blow when former Japanese foreign minister Ohira said in a Diet comment that the national flag of Taiwan did not represent anybody.

Taiwan retaliated angrily by banning Japan Air Lines (JAL) from landing in Taipei.

"Our therapy was effective," says a Taiwan Foreign Ministry official. "The Japanese realized that our tolerance had limits even though we realize they are trying their best not to displeasure Peking."

In 1976 Japanese Foreign Minister Miyazawa apologized in a Diet talk saying that the flag of the Republic of China was recognized by many governments of the world.

Facts partially restored, Taiwan decided to allow air links to open again. But because of the first remark, the Japanese were told their own flag-carrying airline - JAL - would not be welcomed.

As a compromise, JAL created a wholly owned subsidiary airline called Japan Asia Airways (JAA) which only flies the Taipei-Tokyo

route. Relations with the Japanese Airlines Association, especially the Philippines, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, and Indonesia are not ruffled by the trauma peculiar to the Japan-Taiwan connection.

In fact, Taiwan's President Yen Chia-Kan emphasized to the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) in an interview with Philippine journalists in June that Taiwan is ready to cooperate for the development of the region.

Mr. Yen said that economic cooperation between ASEAN and Taiwan would not only help development but insure the security of the region.

D. T.

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Small island's economy gets big infusion of foreign firms' capital and know-how

By Neil A. Martin
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Kaohsiung, Taiwan
Going up on the muddy banks of the Lin Pao River on the outskirts of this southern port city is a new \$100 million petrochemicals plant which, when completed two years from now, will supply an essential raw material to Taiwan's all-important textiles industry.

The plant is being built by the China American Petrochemical Company, a Sino-American joint venture firm, 50 percent owned by Amoco Chemical Corporation, a subsidiary of Standard Oil of Indiana. When completed, the plant will produce annually 150,000 metric tons of purified terephthalic acid, a main item in producing polyester fibers.

Amoco Chemical is the world's largest producer of this acid. In the past it had licensed Chinese Petroleum Corporation, a government-owned corporation, to make the polyester raw material, which is used mostly in garmentmaking. However, as president Robert C. Jagel of

China American notes, "Taiwan's textiles industry has grown so rapidly that we wanted to come into the business directly as an investor. We are optimistic about the future of both Taiwan and its textiles industry."

Other firms coming in

To be sure, Amoco Chemical is not alone in its optimism. In fact, a growing number of foreign investors, while paying lip service to the potential of business opportunities in mainland China, are opting for business "now" and are investing in this tiny anti-communist country.

For example, next door to Amoco's PTA plant, Union Carbide has a 25 percent interest in the construction of a \$105 million ethylene glycol plant, another important link in the nation's burgeoning petrochemicals industry. Britain's Imperial Chemical Industries recently broke ground for a new paintmaking plant near Taipei, its first investment in the Republic of China. Philips, the big Dutch electronics firm, is in the midst of a major expansion of its already sizable television assembly business in Taiwan. Likewise, RCA and

Zenith are expanding their Taiwan operations. And Grundig, the West German electronics company, is building a television assembly plant in Kaohsiung.

In all, after an alarming decline following the 1973 oil embargo and the subsequent world economic recession, foreign investment in the Republic of China is on a noticeable upswing. Government approval of new investment projects totaled \$141.5 million in 1976, a 20 percent increase over 1975 and ending a two-year decline in new investment proposals. The upswing was due mainly to the activities of the two European electronics manufacturers (Philips and Grundig), which received approval for investments totaling \$32.5 million, in sharp contrast with the \$4.2 million worth of European investment in Taiwan in 1975.

Japanese expand, too

The Japanese also increased their stake in the island country in 1976, winning approvals of \$31 million worth of new investment, compared with \$23 million in 1975. On the other hand, U.S. investment declined last year, dropping sharply to \$22 million from \$41 million in 1975. Chinese investment (from Chinese living outside the two Chinas) was also down slightly, to \$40 million, from \$47 million the year before.

With more than a half billion dollars already invested in Taiwan, the United States still remains the island's biggest investor. "The drop in U.S. and overseas Chinese investment," explains William Francis McRory, first secretary of the U.S. Embassy in Taipei, "probably is more the result of worldwide conditions than any factors relating specifically to Taiwan."

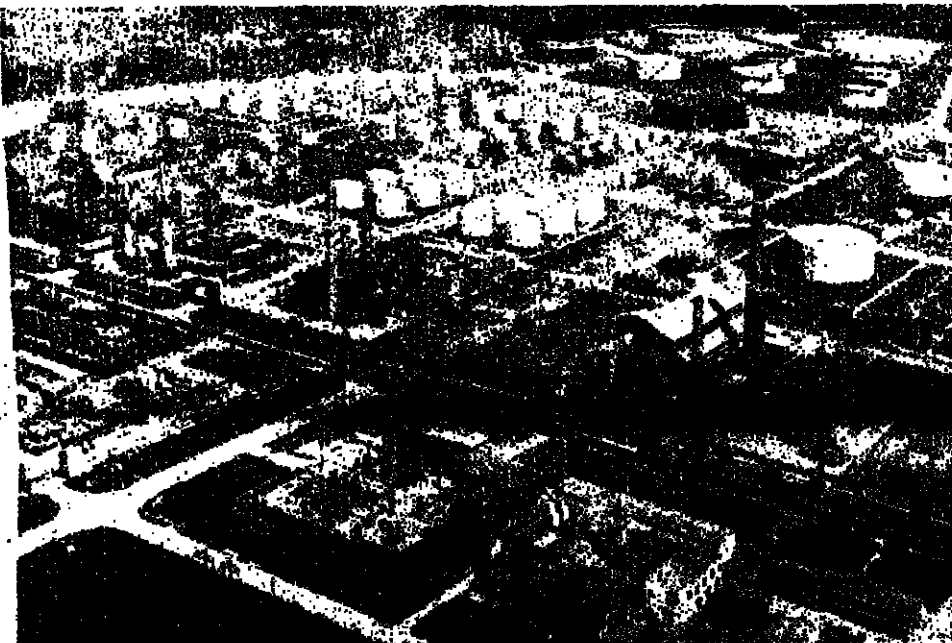
Herbert Gale Peabody, executive director of the American Chamber of Commerce in Taipei, concurs. "The global economic recession discouraged new U.S. investment in Taiwan during the past two years, but the economic climate is clearing up now and we expect to see a pickup in the flow of U.S. capital into Taiwan in the near future."

What about the problem of the "two Chinas," and U.S. Government efforts to normalize relations with mainland China? Won't that discourage U.S. investment in the future?

"American businessmen here are more concerned about the recent changes in U.S. tax law affecting overseas incomes than they are



Jagel — head of new joint venture



Chinese Petroleum Corporation refinery in Kaohsiung
Demand for petrochemicals is attracting foreign investments

Keeping weather eye on Peking invasion threat

By David Tharp
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Taipei, Taiwan
U.S. Secretary of State Vance has said that Peking and Taipei should be left to work out their problems "peacefully." But officials on Taiwan say the mainland will not settle for anything less than complete political capitulation.

"It's either that or face an armed invasion across the Taiwan Strait," says a former Nationalist Chinese general.

In a doomsday scenario, Republic of China (Taiwan) military analysts estimate that mainland Chinese would require at least 20 divisions to launch an invasion across Taiwan Strait.

When the invasion comes, the Republic of China will have 100,000 paratroopers and 10,000 tanks. Most of these would be wiped out by the defenders, but no one thinks Taiwan could hold out under sustained attacks involving more waves than that.

"However, to invade us, the mainlanders would have to pull many of their troops off the Soviet border," says one military strategist, and they are just not willing to take that risk.

In fact, the strategist reckons, "The Russians are too smart to be drawn into a land war with the Chinese."

Mutual security pact

One of the 60 treaties and agreements between Taipei and Washington is the 1954

Mutual Security Treaty, which guarantees U.S. protection should Taiwan be attacked.

If normalization of relations with Peking occurs, the United States will probably cancel this treaty.

Not that it will make that much difference, say cynical Taiwanese. Only 1,400 American servicemen remain on Taiwan, none of whom are combat troops, and no one really believes that considerable U.S. support will be thrown behind Taipei in an emergency.

Military reliance, therefore, has become the key phrase on Taiwan. Domestic production of arms is pushed hard. This year's budget provides 43.3 percent for military spending.

The Nationalists already turn out their own helicopters, 155-mm. artillery, small arms, ammunition, and so on. They also have a large stockpile of Soviet-made missiles, including heat-seeking air-to-air missiles, and surface-to-air missiles.

An addition includes Israeli Gabriel surface-to-surface missiles, although the Defense Department officially denies that the weapons system was purchased from Tel Aviv.

Half a million in uniform

Taiwan's defense force stands at 500,000 men — 350,000 Army troops, 70,000 in the Navy and Marines, and 80,000 in the Air Force. They are well trained and highly disciplined.

Nuclear weapons are not planned, although the Nationalists have atomic capability. Sophisticated computer tests have secretly taken

place in Taipei which show that nuclear weapons can be produced if necessary.

"This would be a last resort," said an official source. "We don't want to contemplate using nuclear weapons against Chinese troops, even if they are Communist."

Intelligence gathering is used extensively. Technicians sitting at supersensitive sound equipment monitor the engines of Chinese aircraft taking off or landing along the Fukien coastline across the Taiwan Strait.

The espionage network on the mainland is small but effective. Government officials say their mainland spies have found it easier to operate since the passing of Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

Spying seems to work well both ways, however. For the mainlanders have found it difficult or impossible to gain access to military bases on Taiwan recently.

One official military reason given is that training had been neglected when foreign guests were welcomed, but one intelligence report indicates otherwise. Apparently, detailed descriptions of Taiwan's defenses have ended up in Peking's hands after visitors obligingly passed sensitive information to mainland agents.

Taiwan's defense manpower and hardware are imposing, but the government says this is not enough. Weapons systems are being upgraded in an intensive effort to develop the domestic industry and buy more sophisticated arms from outside.

about the 'two Chinas' problem," Mr. Peabody says. "Most seem reassured by Carter administration statements that U.S. investment in Taiwan will be taken into consideration in planning future relationships with the mainland Chinese. For others, the prospects of mainland business are simply too remote to worry about. Taiwan is business — now."

"Most U.S. investors seem to be discounting the political factor in determining whether to invest in Taiwan," says the U.S. Embassy's Mr. McRory. "And are more or less confident that their investments will be safeguarded in any agreement eventually worked out between the United States and the People's Republic of China."

Without question, foreign investment continues to play an important role in the Taiwan economy. Between 1953 and 1975, some 2,000 foreign companies invested more than \$1.5 billion in Taiwan, mostly in the electronics and textiles area. And, according to a recent government study, these firms exported some \$4 billion worth of goods in 1975, representing about 30 percent of the nation's total overseas sales.

Gross output of foreign-owned companies represented about 7 percent of the country's GNP (gross national product: total output of goods and services) that same year and 18 percent of Taiwan's total manufacturing output. About a fourth of the government's business income tax revenues came from foreign firms in 1975, while these companies accounted for about 5 percent of the nation's work force.

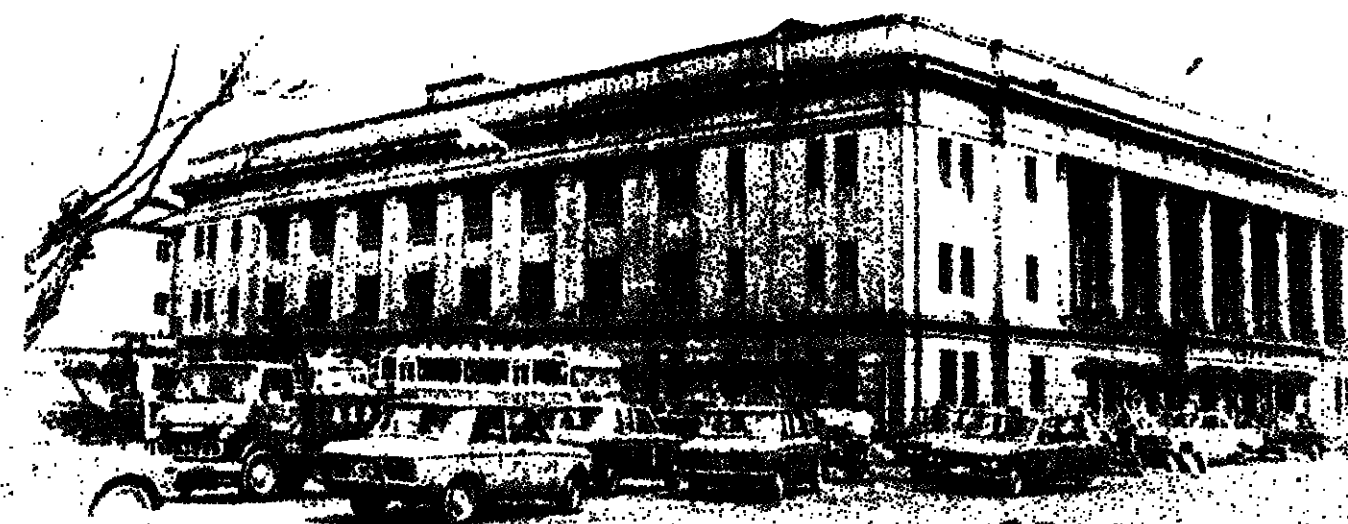
Six-year plan

More important, the government is counting on substantial injections of foreign capital to help complete its new six-year economic plan. According to Lawrence Lu, director of the government's industrial development and investment center, Taiwan will require an average of about \$180 million in new foreign capital investment yearly through 1981, or roughly more than \$1 billion.

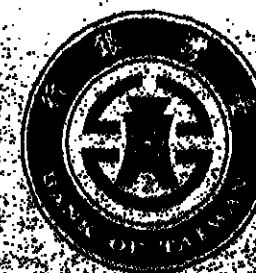
"We will probably need more than this if we are to realize fully the aims of the new economic plan," says Mr. Lu. "Thus, we are trying to further improve our investment climate so as to attract much more capital from abroad. We plan to provide additional incentives to capital-intensive, technology-based enterprises to upgrade our infrastructural capabilities, to further develop our national resources and raw materials industries, and to open up more industrial estates."

Top priority is being given to a revision of the government's Statute for Encouragement of Investment, which Mr. Lu says should be completed by the end of this year. Under consideration are extension of the current five-year tax holiday by one to three years for industries falling into the capital-intensive, high technology category; duty-free privileges for domestic production by qualified industries; an extension in the current period of reduced income tax by one to two years; and new tax incentives for trading companies to stimulate exports.

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Textile exports zoom to \$2.5 billion

'Imported' from mainland, industry tops 'big six'

By David Tharp

Special to

The Christian Science Monitor

Textiles lead Taiwan's traditional "big six" exports. The other five are sugar, plywood, plastics, machines, and electronics. The textile industry was started by mainlanders who brought their plants to Taiwan from Shanghai and Canton in the late 1940s to avoid Communist rule.

The export value of textiles in 1976 was \$2.5 billion, 30.7 percent of Taiwan's total exports and the island's leading export item.

Textiles grew into one of Taiwan's principal production industries partly as a result of a U.S. think-tank analysis in 1961 which encouraged the country's electronic and petrochemical development.

Some of the spin-offs from the petrochemical industry's expansion were petrochemical intermediates, plastics, resins, and synthetic fibers which created the dynamic base for rapid textile-industry growth.

Today, Taiwan's textiles can be found in Middle East bazaars, fashionable Japanese department stores, and small shops all over Southeast Asia.

U.S. department stores are the largest buyers of Taiwan-made garments. These include Montgomery Ward, J. C. Penney, R. H. Macy, S. S. Kresge, Alexander's and Sears, Roebuck.

Famous shirt names

Well-known U.S. shirt manufacturers now have many of their products made in Taiwan, including Van Heusen, Campus, Manhattan Shirts, Oxford, and Landmark.

Far Eastern Textile Mills is one of Taiwan's most representative textile firms and is also one of the country's top exporters. In 1976 Far Eastern accounted for one-fifteenth of Taiwan's total production, and one-twentieth of the nation's total exports.

Founded in 1942 in Shanghai and evacuated to Taiwan in 1948, the company started off in Taipei with 15 employees including the president.

Now the firm employs a total of 10,000 workers at different plants throughout Taiwan. Far Eastern has also diversified into the cement industry, and owns a chain of department stores in Taiwan.

The Far Eastern Department Store in downtown Taipei is modeled after Japanese counterparts as girls dressed in matching uniforms and white gloves bow to each customer entering the building to welcome them.

Company paternalism

W. C. Wang, a former army officer and now assistant manager of Far Eastern's textile mill at Panchiao just outside Taipei, takes great pride in the paternalistic attitude of his company toward its employees, 88 percent of whom are women.

The average wage of a female worker at the mill is \$110 a month. If a female employee lives in the company's dormitory, rent and food are provided free.

Painted in large Chinese characters on the wall of the women's dormitory at the Panchiao plant are the slogans: "one heart," "production for the country," and "cooperation - production - a happy family."

Besides the dormitory is a spacious, well-lighted library for the male and female employees of the plant.

"Far Eastern will help send any employee to night schools such as technical training courses or colleges in his or her off-duty hours," explained Mr. Wang.

But for those who prefer to use their time in other ways, adjacent to the library are a company owned olympic-size swimming pool, a gymnasium, and skating rink. Running down the middle of the plant's grounds is a carefully trimmed nine-hole golf course. No green fees are charged to Far Eastern employees.

Despite these fringe benefits not all the workers are happy. Explains Mr. Wang: "Many of the girls leave because the working conditions in an electronics plant are much better."

Comparison of conditions

"Here, a worker is kept busy throughout his eight-hour shift watching and supervising many spinning and weaving operations. But in the electronics plant they sit at individual tables, it is air-conditioned, and they get paid more for less work."

As a result, Far Eastern has to compete more for the labor available. "We even have to use men now in spinning and weaving sections where we used to employ only women," Mr. Wang noted.

He added that all factories were experiencing a labor shortage because of a business boom, and easy availability of jobs in new industries.

Although Far Eastern and other textile manufacturers are very busy fulfilling orders, textile exports showed a decline in value in the first five months of 1977.

Trade officials attributed the phenomenon to the keen competition among exporting nations.

Typhoon strikes southern Taiwan

A typhoon struck southern Taiwan July 26, reportedly killing 28 persons and injuring more than 200. Twenty thousand homes were destroyed, and property damages were estimated at over \$250 million.

A tropical storm, nicknamed Thelma, struck at Kaohsiung, a major port and industrial city. The storm-damaged area was reported to cover 2,000 square miles. Stories written for this section were completed prior to the occurrence of the typhoon.

Statistics show Taiwan's exports of textiles in the January-May period amounted to \$800 million, a reduction of 10.1 percent compared with the \$884.4 million registered in the same period a year ago.

Because of stiff competition, mainly from South Korea, profit margins have been cut considerably, preventing upward adjustments in prices.

Protectionism growing

Economic planners had hopes of exporting \$2.7 billion worth of textiles this year. "But more efforts will be needed," said a representative for textile exporters.

In view of growing protectionist trends in many industrialized nations and the proposed import restrictions on various Taiwan products such as textiles, many traders are not optimistic about prospects for the latter half of 1977.

"If we can keep smooth sales and the price of oil stays stable, we'll get through this alright," predicted Far Eastern's Mr. Wang. "but it won't be a boom year like 1973."

Flurry of hope on offshore oil, gas muted by dry holes and politics

By Neil A. Marlin

Special to

The Christian Science Monitor

Kaohsiung, Taiwan

Three years ago, Continental Oil Corporation set off a flurry of international headlines when it discovered commercial quantities of gas while exploring for oil in an area off the coast of this southern port city.

The discovery located in what is known as the Taiwan Straits that separates Taiwan from mainland China, sparked exploratory activities by international oil prospectors, including Conoco, Amoco Petroleum Company (a subsidiary of Standard Oil of Indiana), and Gulf Oil, all of them working in partnership with the government owned Chinese Petroleum Corporation (CPC).

Oil exploration was planned for five zones running from the southern tip of the island through the Taiwan Straits and hundreds of miles north through the straits into the East China Sea, with a narrow extension toward the Yellow Sea near Shanghai.

Today, most of this activity has come to a halt. Both Amoco and Conoco have stopped their oil search and shifted their exploratory efforts to other areas of Southeast Asia. After a long and costly drilling, and is unlikely to resume.

Even the perennially hopeful CPC suffered a setback earlier this year when a \$10 million drilling platform sank in heavy seas while being towed into position near the Pescadore Islands in the Straits.

Once prepared to earmark more than \$200 million for an aggressive search, the CPC has trimmed back its oil exploration budget. It also recently fired Sun Oil to restudy the oil structures in several offshore areas where it had previously found some indications of high-grade crude but which failed to pan out with subsequent drillings.

While Taiwan has no large known petroleum deposits, some geologists believe the potential is great. Satellite reconnaissance indicates that Taiwan may be sitting on an important oil belt. The most optimistic estimates from some foreign oil geologists suggest that this island may someday emerge as a "second Kuwait" in oil reserves.

And, of course, Taiwan's need for oil is obvious. Totally dependent upon foreign imports (Taiwan imported about \$850 million worth of crude oil in 1976, mostly from Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and Indonesia), the impact of a major oil find on the country's economic position would be great.

Besides improving Taiwan's balance of payments and providing it with a secure supply source close to home, oil would in the words of CPC's Mr. Lee, "lay the foundations for the further expansion of our petrochemical industry."

Perhaps, But, in the words of one U.S. oil man in Taiwan, "The promise may not be worth the pitfalls."

The problem, it seems, is as much political as it is geological or economic. Shortly after the CPC announced in 1974 a massive \$240 million investment scheme to drill 10 land and 15 offshore oil wells, the U.S. State Department and Henry Kissinger reportedly pressed U.S. oil company executives to back off from ambitious drilling plans because of Communist China's claims to the Straits area.

The U.S. Government feared a commercial oil discovery might set off a new confrontation between the two Chinese at a time when U.S. policy was clearly aimed at improving relations between Washington and Peking. "one foreign diplomatic source in Taipei explains.

Taiwan government officials and CPC executives brush aside the reports of U.S. diplomatic pressure, and cite instead economic and geological factors as being responsible for the slower pace of oil exploration.

TAIWAN ISLAND PROVINCE OF THE Republic of China

The fabulous National Palace Museum in Taipei houses the world's greatest individual collection of Chinese art treasures, among them 12,293 paintings.



Painting Entitled "Spring Morning in the Palace of the Han"

The museum is one of the countless reasons why no trip to or through Taiwan is complete without a visit to the National Palace Museum.

Among other reasons are the reflection of China's glorious cultural heritage not only in the priceless relics of the past, but in the everyday life of the people—in their manners, customs, and traditions.

The comfort of luxury hotels, moderate prices which give travelers superior value for the dollar, the legendary loveliness of an evergreen island that ennobled 18th century Portuguese mariners christened "Ilha Formosa" (Beautiful Island).

The indisputable fact that Taipei is the gastronomic capital of the world in Chinese cuisine.

All the listed and unlisted reasons point to one irresistible conclusion: IN THINKING OF TRAVEL, THINK OF TAIWAN.

And remember: stopovers in Taiwan involve no extra-air fares.

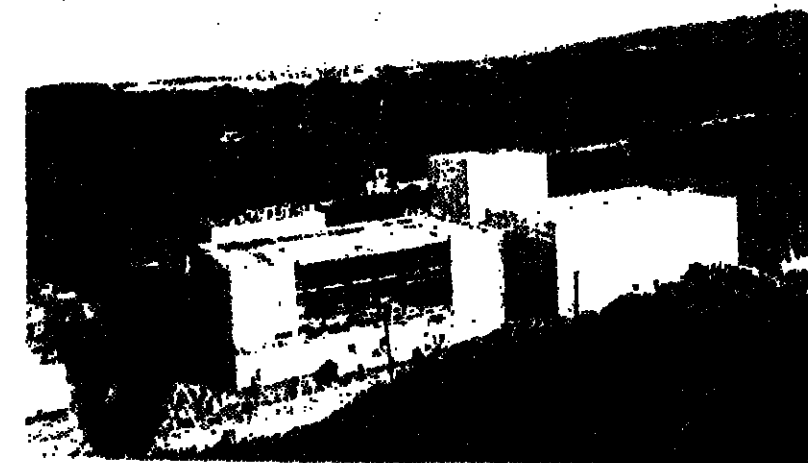
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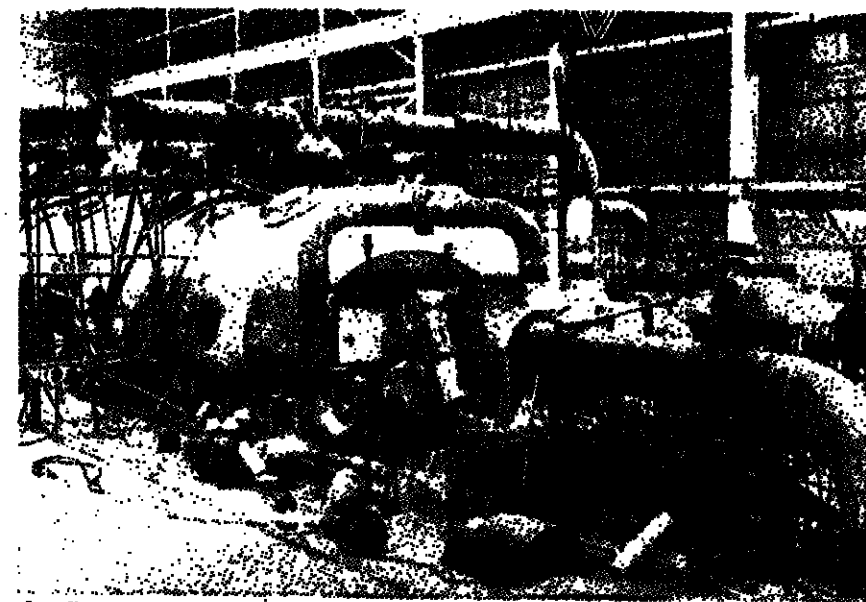
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TAIWAN POWER COMPANY
Republic of China

Taiwan's electronics becoming a top export performer

By David Tharp
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Government effort attracts blue-chip foreign investors

Taipei, Taiwan
On July 5 Taiwan's Economics Minister Y. S. Sun presented in a special ceremony Premier's Awards to the country's top 10 exporters for their performance in 1976.

Six of them were electronics companies. Electric and electronic goods accounted for a huge \$1.28 billion of Taiwan's exports last year.

Despite the decline in sales of some traditional exports in the first part of 1977, electronic sales made strong gains. In April alone exports of electric and electronic parts were up 24 percent over the same period in 1976.

"U.S., Japanese, and now even European investors are strongly interested in our developing electronics industry," says K. S. Chang, Vice-Minister of the Economics Affairs Ministry.

Total foreign investment in Taiwan's electronics industry is close to half a billion dollars, and there is no sign of foreign interest abating. Philips, the Dutch electronics giant, will start production of color TVs at its Taiwan subsidiary this year, further upgrading the technological standard of Taiwan's industry.

Although some barriers are being imposed against Japan's electronic products in the U.S., Taiwan is confident that it can rapidly increase its color television production with sales to the U.S., Europe, and Asian countries.

"We may even be ready to compete with the Japanese in their own domestic market," predicts Y. T. Wong, director general of Taiwan's Board of Foreign Trade.

This confidence results from the government's initiative to focus on the development of technology-oriented, capital-intensive industries. Electronics is one of 80 specific areas receiving special incentives by the government's Industrial Development and Investment Center of the Ministry of Economic Affairs.

Over the past 10 years, the government and

local businessmen have succeeded in attracting an influx of overseas capital to greatly stimulate the expansion of the electronics industry.

From 1963 to 1973 TV production grew at an annual rate of 105 percent, and tape recorders at 285 percent. Exports of TV sets went from nothing in 1967 to \$388 million in 1974, and radios from \$11 million to \$220 million in the same period. About 90 percent of Taiwan's TV set exports are shipped to the U.S.

Due to the world economic recession in 1974-75, electronics production declined. To get the industry moving again, the government encouraged integrated circuit, memory planes, computer parts, calculator, digital watch, and color TV production by giving foreign investors generous tax holidays and duty-free privileges to produce in Taiwan.

In addition, the government invested millions of dollars in special research and development of its own for the electronics industry. Government strategy paid off. Electronics now are one of the country's fastest growing industrial sectors, and has acquired considerable depth with local manufacture of most components.

Foreign investors in the electronics industry read like a social register of the world's blue-chip companies: RCA, General Instrument Corporation, IBM, ITT, Motorola, Zenith, Texas Instruments, Admiral, Hitachi, Mitsubishi, Matsushita, Sanyo, Mitsumi, Nippon Electric, Sony, Toko, Funai, Philips (Netherlands), and Grundig (West Germany).

Japanese investment has continued to be of immense importance to Taiwan's electronics industry despite Tokyo's break in relations with Taipei. An upswing in industry confidence was also due last year to two major European manufacturers, Philips and Grundig, which re-

ceived approval for investments totaling \$32.5 million.

Taiwan's Export Processing Zone Administration (EPZA) reports that electronics industries are their No. 1 income earner. Three export processing zones are located in Kaohsiung (KEPZ), Nantse (NEPZ), and Taichung (TEPZ).

Outside these zones, an investor must consult different government agencies for import and export permits, taxes, electricity, and other paperwork. Inside the zones one building provides all the necessary forms where approvals are made.

For American market

The U.S. firm General Instrument maintains one of its Taiwan plants in the Kaohsiung EPZ. It employs 2,100 workers, 90 percent women, on three shifts six days a week. The plant is 100 percent American owned.

The firm produces integrated circuits, TV electronic games, and aircraft communication equipment mainly for the American market. It was one of the top 10 firms cited by Economics Minister Sun on July 5 for its high export performance.

"We are like a family," said industrial relations manager Frank Tung, a former lieutenant colonel in the Republic of China Marine Corps. "We treat everyone like brothers and sisters."

Asked why he thought foreign firms invested in electronics in Taiwan, Mr. Tung replied, "Our people are hard workers, they are skilled, have a high education, and have the patience for the work — with a certain delicate touch which ensures a quality product."

Starting workers are paid about \$105 a month. Seniority of the job brings more pay. While most of the employees come from Kaohsiung, 20 percent are from such places as

Ping Tung, the next province, Tainan, and Taichung in the north.

These outside workers can live in the EPZ's dormitory. Three hundred women from General Instrument's plant do. For married women who take maternity leave, the company pays them full salary for two months after their child's birth.

Frank Tung, a graduate of the U.S. Marine's Quantico officers training course, says his company also provides labor insurance, welfare benefits, and hospital fees for all the employees.

"We have salary increases every year as labor costs rise, and overall, people are very happy working for this company," Mr. Tung said.

To encourage further growth in the domestic electronics industry, the Ministry of Economic Affairs announced at the beginning of July plan to set stiffer standards for the electronic parts, components, and finished products.

Measures also are being taken to improve the investment climate to develop more technology-intensive products in the industry. And effort is being made to encourage manufacture of basic raw materials — parts and components — that are not now made domestically in order to ease reliance on imports.

Electronics award

Furthermore, government and privately owned research institutes are encouraged to improve present electronics product lines such as color televisions, sound equipment, cassette video tapes, microwave ovens, integrated circuits, and medical equipment.

These ambitious promotion campaigns resulted in Taung Television Company winning an award for the most outstanding product and engineering of an audio-color television at electronics show held recently in Chicago.

Taipei officials say the Taung show shows that local electronic techniques reached international standards.

zation



By Clayton Jones

Angle from the nearest landing strip

at a time keeps insects under control and best releases nutrients to the thin layers of jungle topsoil. Bangaly, Brazilians are learning, too, that many Indians willing to be patient and tolerate Western ways, to accept foreign ideas and practices, and share their time and culture with opposing cultures.

The humble Tukano and their Indian brothers seek to live in harmony with anything in their small unit, to create a continuity by establishing new links to the intrusion of industrial society.

Throughout their lives, the flutter of a blue butterfly, the clouds that gather on the horizon, the chirping of a parakeet, the howl of a jaguar — all these are part of the images and voices of an expanding web for the Tukano chain of life.

He reveals this to the two visitors who came to his village in a "strange bird with machete-skin." They suddenly themselves linked to the Indians' web. Bangaly's dance light is not for the tribe. It is for us, outsiders who to observe but now must participate.

Tukano chief ("paye") recites the history of his tribe in a dance and chant around the ground where the Milky Way streaks across the night sky above. Squawks from two pet parrots mix into the sounds. A brown-faced children watch us with wide eyes from the fire's circle of light.

As the dance ends, the radio dies out, and the fire to glowing embers. The tiny Tukanos head for their huts to rest for tomorrow.



By Clayton Jones

Banja's music: panpipe and turtle shell



Amazon silhouette: bow and arrow are still used for catching fish and game



Faces of Amazon Indians



Two viewpoints from the working people of Taiwan

A shipyard worker proud of his simple life

Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Kaohsiung, Taiwan
Hsu Cheng-hsiung is an engine room foreman at China Shipbuilding Corporation's Kaohsiung shipyard. He is married and has two children, an 11-year-old boy and 9-year-old girl. Mr. Hsu has worked at his present job two years after transferring from his firm's old plant in Keelung, in northern Taiwan.

Over an evening meal of roast chicken, soup, and two vegetables in the kitchen of his company-owned apartment, Mr. Hsu spoke proudly

about his simple life, which he said has improved in many ways over the last 10 years.

"Everything is better than 10 years ago — housing, transportation, industry, pay."

He is buying his apartment, with three bedrooms, living room, and two bathrooms, from his company with a 15-year loan. He works a 48-hour week, and his monthly salary is \$395.

Motor-scooter commuter

He cannot afford a car but rides to work on a motor scooter. His family makes do with a black and white television. His wife has a refrigerator and washing machine.

A dedicated family man, Mr. Hsu takes his wife and children on weekend outings around Kaohsiung, usually for picnics on Sunday. He hopes to send both his son and daughter to a university; otherwise, he thinks they should get a technical education as skilled workers.

For his own relaxation Mr. Hsu reads and goes to the movies. He gets pocket money from his wife after handing over his pay to her every month to manage the family's affairs.

His marriage was arranged through introductions made by older friends. He thinks his wife is a good person, and that his family because his responsibilities are also important.

Doing his best

Mr. Hsu says he has no particular problems, and his philosophy is to do his best for the shipyard and society. In return, he expects to be paid according to his efforts.

With such a tough job he sometimes worries about accidents but is satisfied that his government-owned company will "take care" of his medical expenses if necessary while providing for his children.

"Beyond my job I will continue to make my life more worthwhile, more interesting, and more meaningful," he said.

A part of her salary is put aside for her wedding day

Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Kaohsiung, Taiwan

Miss Huang Chiu-shieh is an assistant foreman in General Instrument Corporation's Kaohsiung plant. Single, she lives in the export processing zone's women's dormitory.

She has worked for the American electronics firm eight years. Her monthly salary is \$147 (U.S.), but she puts in overtime which brings her an extra \$60 to \$70 every month.

When she visits her family in the north of Kaohsiung Province, she takes home half her salary to give to her mother, a common act of filial piety among traditional Chinese families in Taiwan. The remainder of her salary is banked for the day she gets married. Her savings now total \$2,630.

Her father runs a foodstuffs store. He thinks she is lucky to have a job with a foreign-owned business inside the export processing zone, and that she is doing better than girls who work in shops or other plants in Kaohsiung.

Even though admittedly conservative, she doesn't think that men should be paid more than she for doing the same job. She believes it's harder to make a living as a woman.

Dormitory life appeals to her because she enjoys socializing with her friends after work and playing table tennis in the dorm's recreation center.

During summer vacations she and several friends from the dorm travel to different tourist spots on Taiwan. She would like to go abroad, and perhaps visit the United States, which she describes as "a luxurious place" from her impressions from American movies.



Hsu Cheng-hsiung



Miss Huang Chiu-shieh

sports

Thousands watch women's golf in an English rain

By John Allan May
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Sunningdale, England
Slowly (very slowly) but surely (just as surely) the whole picture for women's golf on this side of the Atlantic is being changed by the annual Colgate European LPGA Championship.

This time Judy Rankin, winner in the first "European Women's Open" in 1974, won again and by the proverbial street. Her four-round total of 281 was six better than that of her nearest competitor, Nancy Lopez.

Had you seen Judy on her final round, followed by a considerable crowd in the pouring rain, a slight figure dressed in pink with a floppy white rain hat and big round tinted spectacles, neatly and efficiently "burning up the course" — she was "out" in 32 — you would immediately understand what I mean.

Five years ago you couldn't have got 30 people out in weather like this to watch women's golf, let alone several thousands.

But "the Colgate" has become an event. It gets good time on TV. The crowds roll up to

see more than 100 of the world's top women golfers. Mostly of course the players are from the United States. But this year there were four British professionals competing (for the first time in history), besides a score of British amateurs (seven of whom qualified for the final day).

Amateur champion Vanessa Marvin, who made a very good showing, allowed she would join the pro tour "when it comes over here." Top English player Jenny Lee Smith has turned pro and recently has won her player's card in the USA to join Michelle Walker. While pro "Viv" Saunders battles on here, no longer quite alone as she was before, fighting gallantly not only for women's golf but for women's rights.

It's interesting perhaps that just across the road from here is the "Sunningdale Ladies Golf Club" which this year is celebrating its diamond jubilee. The club has a short course of great character and charm. But it dates from a different day when women's golf was a thing apart and the idea of a female breaking 70 from the men's tees (as several did in "the Colgate") on "Sunningdale Old" was quite unthinkable.

Actually these days at the Sunningdale Ladies women play off the very back tees while male guests often play from the front, reversing the usual order. Women have to play from the back because if their beautiful miniature "ladies course" was 20 yards shorter overall it wouldn't qualify for handicap purposes as a golf course at all.

So do times change, and this European Open is markedly speeding up that process.

Sally Little of South Africa made a wise remark. She herself broke 70 twice during the tournament and finished third.

"What we are doing" she said "is proving that sport really is for everyone. Everyone, in his or her own way, is an athlete."

It was always a mystery why Joyce Wethered (Lady Heathcoat Amory) played such a superb game. She was the Bobby Jones of women's golf. She played Jones level once off the same tees and went around in 74 at his home course in Atlanta to Bobby's 71.

But by now the mystery is solved. There's no reason at all why women shouldn't play really super golf.

In men's golf strength does, of course, enter

into things at the top level. Judy Rankin will never hit the ball as far as Jim Dent. But for this very reason, women have to be closer to technical perfection than men to play the game at the top.

Very few men outside the top 20 pros would have beaten the first three or four at Sunningdale this year. And none would have shown better the meaning of technique.

Coming up toward the end of the teeming rain Judy Rankin, bound to win, has, so to speak, nothing to play for except pride. At the 210-yard 15th she hit a superb tee shot straight at the flag but five yards short. Then she rammed in the putt.

She might have dropped three or more shots thereafter, but confined it to one. First at the 17th and then at the 18th she hit a wayward second, chipped short but with a firm, bold, confident stroke rapped the putts into the hole. For this she won herself an extra \$1,000 for the best round of the day.

She was worth every cent of it.

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Connors wants to surpass tennis greats

here in the green hills of the Mount Washington Valley. "The setting, the relaxing atmosphere ... for me to come here and play myself into shape is the best thing to do."

Connors came here nursing an injured thumb after a three-week lay-off. Before Forest Hills he will play in Indianapolis and Boston. He says he's satisfied the way his game is shaping up.

One thing he notes is the way today's "young Turks" come at him, like 19-year-old Werner Zingst of Munich, who extended him to 7-6 in the first set of the second round before bowing 4-0 in the second set. "I remember how I used to get charged up when I came out of the juniors, and would play somebody big. Today, I figured there was no way he could keep hitting those screaming passing shots like he was in the first set, or else I would be making flight plans out of here tomorrow."

As for Connors' future plans, he says he frankly would like to establish himself not just equal to, but better than, the greats of the past. But he wants to do it quicker than others have, perhaps retiring when he's 28 or 29. He still has fun or he wouldn't be playing, he says, but more and more he feels those "young Turks" on his tail.

Jimmy Connors

Why he likes the locker room empty

By L. Dana Gatlin
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

North Conway, New Hampshire
At 24 years of age Jimmy Connors still has a hard time hanging onto his sweatsocks.

He finishes his match, and the kids behind the ropes shouting "Jimmy! Jimmy!" not only demand the obligatory autographs, they want clothes — sweatbands, sweatsocks, and sometimes more. But, as Connors told one teenybopper after handing her one used sock at the \$125,000 Volvo International here, "You've got to draw the line someplace."

And Connors does. He will talk about tennis almost as long as you want. How he feels about Forest Hills this year, about playing a limited number of tournaments versus regular appearances on the Grand Prix circuit, about where he sees himself in relationship to past tennis greats, about the direction of his career in the next five years.

And he will also field questions about his mental attitude in a relaxed, easy style. It's as if he recognizes all of this goes with the job of being a tennis-mad country's No. 1 tennis star. But surrounded by news-hungry reporters, he shows himself deftly able to fend off questions about his personal life and non-tennis business plans.

For the first couple of days of this tourney, for example, he was able to receive a visit from Chris Evert, once his fiancée but no longer, fly her back to Boston in an acquaintance's private plane, and avoid commenting about any of it.

He also talks about thoroughly enjoying "business" and making some now investments, carefully declining to say what those investments are. In short, he is as much at home returning questions as he is serves.

On next month's U.S. championships at Forest Hills: "I really think it's going to tell it all this year. Everybody's got a gripe. [Gullerme] Vilas won the French championship [and the Washington Star and Louisville tourneys]. I won the WCT [World Championship Tennis] title and was runner-up in Wimbledon. [Bjorn] Borg won Wimbledon. [Ike] Nastase gripes because he hasn't been playing."

Well, says "Jimbo," questions as to which tournaments count more in trying to measure supremacy will pale after two weeks in the late summer sun of New York. "Nobody's going to give in," he says.

"In any two-week event the demand is not so much physical as it is mental. ... I happen to like it when the locker room is empty," he says referring to the pressure of playing in the final of the Forest Hills match. "It means you're into the final."

With all the hassles Forest Hills has been known for — and also for which this will be the last year at the old site — Connors says he likes the tourney the way it is.

"They shouldn't move the Open. It's a zoo around there, but it would be any place." He would like perhaps to see a court surface favoring Americans over Europeans "because it's our championship — perhaps hard courts or back to grass — but he doesn't make a big deal of it."

"My game was molded to hard courts, and I suppose deep down they're my favorite. But I think in the last three or four years I've molded my game to all surfaces," he says. And, he adds, so have all the top pros.

On whether someone like Vilas, who plays regularly in Grand Prix tournaments, is undergoing more of a true championship test than a player like Connors, who played in 18 tournaments last year: "I think that's great if Vilas wants to play in 35 tournaments a year. But the thing for me is to get to the final of an event consistently, then rest."

"If I'm not a worthy champion, just don't take my titles away. I don't want to be buried out when I'm 25. What counts is being consistent." And it is obvious he is talking about winning, not playing.

Connors likes a tournament such as the Volvo, now in its fifth season

home

Mulch: security blanket for your garden

By Peter Tange
Weymouth, Massachusetts

I've been spreading the word around this past week — the printed word, that is. By that I mean I have taken to using the daily newspaper for the initial layer in my weed-defeating, heat-beating, moisture conserving, soil-building garden program.

That's right, a good organic mulch does all that and more. And for the city gardener, lacking the almost limitless quantities of spoiled hay available to his country cousin, the daily newspaper is a pretty good mulch substitute.

Mulching, in fact, is a practice invariably carried out in nature — that of always covering bare soil with grass, leaves, twigs, etc. And because of the benefits, increasing numbers of gardeners are taking a leaf out of nature's book and doing the same sort of thing in the backyard.

Evaporation cut

Mulching makes dry-weather gardening possible because it drastically cuts down on evaporation; keeps summer soil temperatures tolerable to surface roots; can be applied so that it smothers weeds that compete for moisture and nutrients; saves time because it all but eliminates the need to cultivate; prevents wind and water erosion; and slowly builds up soil fertility and structure as it decays.

If that's not enough, consider, too, what mulching does in the cooler periods of the year. In the autumn it retains soil heat weeks longer than does exposed soil, allowing frost-resistant crops to continue growing

space; allows for the in-ground storage of hardy root crops all winter long, and finally makes possible the year-round cultivating activity of the earthworm.

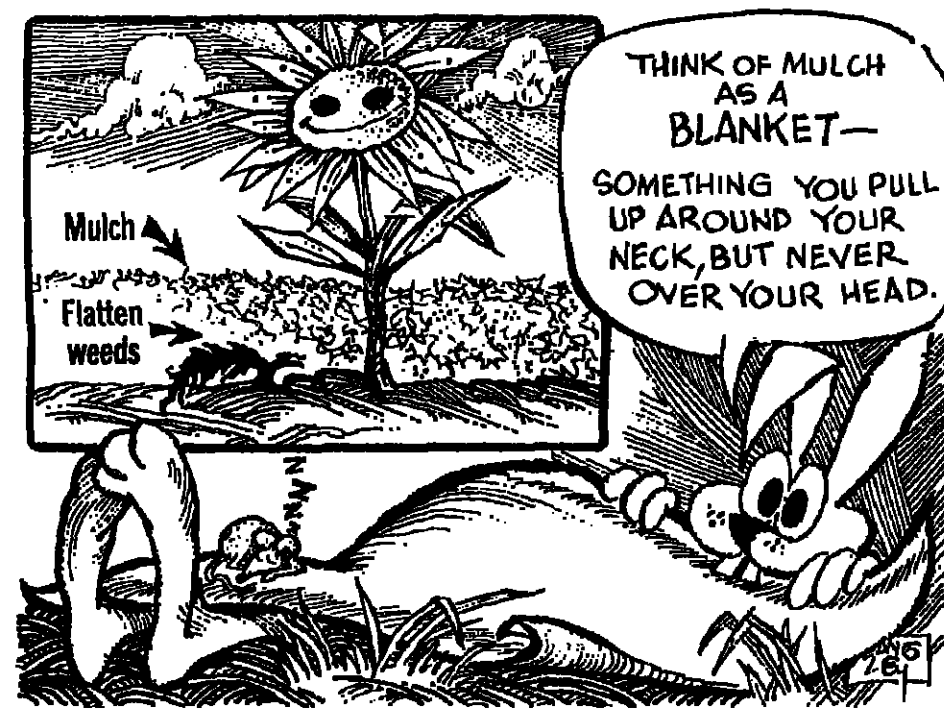
Papering the paths

Currently, I'm laying down newspaper (10 or more pages thick) on the paths between my vegetable beds. Then I cover these with shredded leaves, grass, and the like, simply because I prefer the look of leaves to paper. On the beds I spread shredded leaves directly on the soil, several inches thick, between the vegetable plants. But should I run short of leaves, I shall start with a newspaper layer there, too.

I heard recently of some newcomers to gardening who complained about mulching. It killed their plants, they said. Apparently they had misread the instructions and covered the plants with mulching materials, thereby smothering them along with the weeds.

Instead, think of a mulch as a blanket — something you pull up around your neck but never over your head. In other words, let the plants grow a little and then draw the mulch several inches thick in around the stems, leaving the leaves above the mulch in the fresh air and sunlight. In contrast, flatten down the weeds and cover them with the mulch.

Just last fall I extended a flower bed by covering the neighboring sod with a layer of newspaper topped by three inches of shredded leaves and grass clippings. No grass, not a single blade, poked through the mulch this spring. All we had to do



was make holes in the mulch and get out the new plants. That's how effective the mulch is as a weed or grass killer.

Fall is a good time to gather in the leaves for next year's mulching materials. But without quantities of last year's leaves, what do we do now?

First, make a list of good mulching materials: weeds, grass, hay, corn cobs, wood shavings, sawdust, coffee grounds,

old manure, cocoa bean shells, etc. Next, use the yellow pages of your telephone directory to see if there are possible suppliers in your area — lumber companies, mills, tanneries, stables, etc. Simple telephone inquiries will tell you all you need to know.

Now go ahead. Put your garden to bed — under a blanket of mulch. You'll be glad you did.

Leeks — underground secret of French cooking

By Phyllis Hanes
Food editor of
The Christian Science Monitor

Don't let a bunch of leeks intimidate you. If you've never cooked them and have never had them in your garden, they might look a bit forbidding.

Just think of them as another kind of onion and you'll have a better idea how to handle them.

Cooks of many countries appreciate the long, green and white plant with its mild onion flavor. They are probably one of the world's oldest vegetables. They were grown years ago in Egypt and are still grown there.

So hardy and so easily grown, leeks are simple food that grow in cold climates. Leeks fed the English, the Welsh, and Irish, and the Danes during rugged times.

Leeks were a poor man's food in Europe until the French gave them class. Now they are essential in many French dishes, soups, as a side dish, braised, boiled, or even chilled. They are easy to grow but take a long time, about 130 to 150 days. They last well in the

ground, however, without losing quality and they like cool weather.

Until I grew them in my community garden, I didn't think much about them except as an ingredient for vichyssoise, which I liked to eat, but didn't often make. Now I can use leeks for many kinds of soups as well as a vegetable on their own.

The best part of the leek is the bulbous white end and the lower stalk — in other words, the white part. On home-grown leeks, especially the young ones, more of the top green part is tender and edible than on most market leeks.

Vichyssoise: leeks specialty

Most cooks trim off all green outer leaves before cooking, but I like to keep some of the green, just for looks. When you buy your leeks at the market, you'll notice that the root ends have been cut off. This means that the leek can get dehydrated or dry sooner than if they were left on.

Most Americans know of leeks because of their importance in Louis Diat's vichyssoise, the food cream soup this chef introduced to the public in New York City over 60 years ago. A French chef who introduced many specialties while at the Ritz-Carlton Hotel, he said vichyssoise came of humble origin; it was his mother's leek and potato soup.

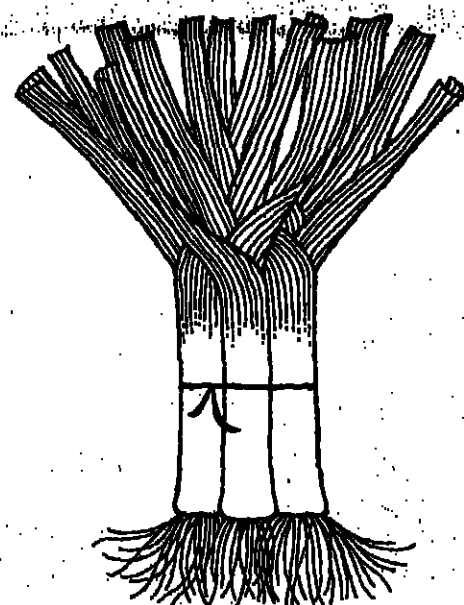
Remembering how his mother would cool his breakfast soup on a warm morning by adding cold milk to it, he added a cup of cream, a sprinkling of chives, and had a new cold soup recipe. He named it after Vichy, the famous spa located near his home in France, as a tribute to the region.

Versatile leeks

Called a French-American soup, vichyssoise ranks along with Scotland's cockle leekie and the French Potage à la bonne femme, three of the many excellent soups made with this vegetable as a vital ingredient.

Leeks are so delicate in flavor that they can be cooked by themselves, boiled or braised with plain butter or herbs, baked in a shallow dish with white sauce or au gratin, or served with sauces such as Hollandaise, Mouseline, or Vinaigrette.

Leeks are splendid in soups and stews, but be sure to add them at the end of cooking if you want them to hold some kind of shape.



They are also excellent in skillet and stir-fry dishes, sliced in rounds. Add them to any dish for a mild onion-like flavor.

This easy vichyssoise should be served cold with a generous garnish of chopped chives.

Easy Vichyssoise

6 medium potatoes
6 medium leeks
2 quarts chicken stock (or more)
1/4 cup cream
Salt, pepper to taste
Fresh chives, chopped

Simmer together in stock the peeled, chopped vegetables with salt and pepper, for about 45 minutes. Put mixture through a food mill or blender. Cool, chill well in refrigerator, then add cream. Serve in cold soup-cups or bowls, garnished with lots of chopped chives. Good hot also.

Trimming and cleaning leeks is slightly different from peeling an onion. One thing you'll like immediately is that there's no pungent, tear-producing aroma.

Trim off the root ends. Cut off green tops to within 1 1/2 inches of the white stalk. Wash thoroughly to remove sand. If there is a lot of sand

or soil between the leaves, you may want to slice the leek lengthwise and pry apart each section. Wash under cold running water. This spoils the appearance if you are braising or cooking the leeks whole, but it isn't always necessary.

After washing the whole leek, slice the white part and the pale green, tender tops into 1/4-inch crosswise slices. Wash again. Here is a versatile recipe for leeks to be served as a vegetable. Serve plain, as in this recipe, or add 1 teaspoon chopped fresh tarragon, top with a mild cheese and brown under the broiler. As a salad, cook as follows, then chill and serve with a vinaigrette dressing.

Braised Leeks

12 leeks, white part only
2 cups beef broth
3 tablespoons parsley
1/4 teaspoon salt
Freshly ground pepper to taste

Cut each leek in lengthwise sections. Wash carefully under cold running water and place in kettle. Add broth and bring to a boil. Cover and reduce to a simmer. Cook for 20 to 30 minutes, until tender. Drain and season leeks.

African violets: one becomes many

By Jeanne King
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

With one sturdy African violet it is easy to increase your supply in a few months. If you are willing to settle for one color, then you need purchase only a single plant.

African violets grow in two different ways, either from a single or a multiple crown. The easiest way to reproduce the single-crown violet is to pick a single leaf down close to the soil and place it in a small container of water. You must make sure the leaf itself is not submerged and that the jars are placed in light, warm, indoor areas. They should not be placed in direct sunlight.

Multiple-crowned plants may be reproduced

through rooting of leaves too, but with them there is also another possibility. Simply pull away the sections smuggled into a cluster, making sure you have some roots clinging to each of the divisions. These can be planted right away and are quicker to take hold than the leaf-sprouting method.

The best soil to use for planting is the packaged, indoor variety. There is one especially blended for violets, but any good mix will do.

After your violets are well established, begin to fertilize them about once a month during spring, summer, and fall but never during the winter. You can get various kinds of liquid or pill fertilizers. Fish emulsion is good. Temper your fertilizing practices with reason, however. Do not feed them right after they have bloomed and never fertilize newly potted or sick plants.

people



A parlormaid remembers:

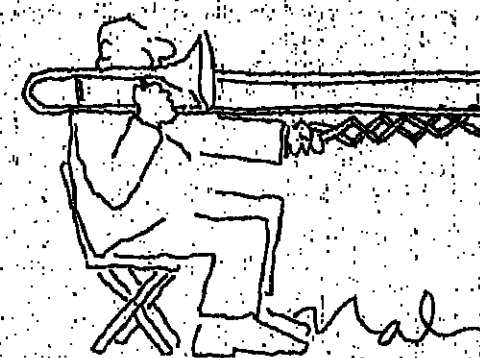
Galsworthy's life as a country squire

By Peter E. Martin
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Bury, West Sussex, England
When John Galsworthy, known to millions of television viewers from Russia to Zambia as the author of "The Forsyte Saga," decided to buy a house in the country in 1928, he earmarked £3,000 for the purpose. He ended up paying £9,000. The reason: The British novelist took a liking to Bury House, a mansionlike residence on the edge of the Downland village of Bury in West Sussex.

Bury House was a residence worthy of any aspiring country squire. Accordingly, Galsworthy took up the appropriate pursuits—cricket, riding, tennis, and croquet. He hired a staff of three parlormaid and five gardeners. The novelist and his wife, Ada, were fond of entertaining at Bury. On summer weekends such literary luminaries as Joseph Conrad, Hugh Walpole, John Drinkwater, Gilbert Murray (the foremost Greek scholar of his time), J. M. Barrie (author of "Peter Pan"), actor and playwright Granville Barker, and Arnold Bennett would descend on the house. The latter estimated that Galsworthy had 10 million blooms at his Sussex home.

Bury House still stands today. It is used by the West Sussex County Council as a home for old-age pensioners. Tens in its dark parlors have replaced drinks on the smooth-shaven lawn.



Some of Galsworthy's devoted staff still live in the village, such as Joan Dean, who joined the household as a parlormaid when she was 18. Eventually she was joined on the staff by her two sisters, one of whom became the cook—an important job on the weekends when Galsworthy regaled guests with five course meals.

Along with other villagers who remember the famous writer, she particularly recalls his interest in the village and his remarkable generosity. She used to bear 10-shilling notes every Friday to several of the more impoverished villagers; then there were the Christmas gifts of £3 or more, and £5 to the staff on their birthdays. When Mrs. Dean's sister got married, Galsworthy gave the happy couple £50—a mean gift in those days—and a house which he built on his land. He also built another house for the district nurse, who at the time was without a permanent residence.

Cricket skill recalled

On the recreational side, Galsworthy avidly patronized the Bury cricket team, not only joining in and playing with them (fairly skillfully, according to Mrs. Dean's husband, Jack, who also played), but also seeing to it that the grounds were kept in good order. Since Helmsley, his publisher, also had a cricket team, Galsworthy arranged matches in Bury between them and the village team, followed up with delicious lunches of cold chicken, ham, new potatoes, salads, and drinks served in the gar-

dens of Bury House. On and off the cricket pitch, "he joined in just like one of us," Jack Dean observes. His eminent guests seem to have been content just to watch.

For further exercise, Galsworthy went riding on the Downs, the soft undulating hills that follow the coastline across southern Sussex. He always took his dogs (five or six at any given time) and rode frequently with his nephew, Rudolf Sauter, who lived in Bury House with his wife and helped run it.

The Downs meant very much to Galsworthy. He could look out of his study window at them and the view refreshed him when he was laboring on manuscripts. It was at Bury House that he wrote "The Silver Spoon" and "Swan Song," extending the history of the Forsytes into the trivial affairs of Fleur and her husband, Michael Mont, and the return to England of her old lover, Jon Forsyte and his wife.

Was life too plush?

Whether it was because in 1927 he had killed off Soames, the character who had fired his indignation and imagination in the earlier novels, or whether the self-satisfied and respectable life he led at Bury dulled his creative powers, Galsworthy's writings after moving to Sussex reveal a definite loss of creative vitality. Mrs. Dean relates how on one occasion Galsworthy sent the staff up to London to see his new play, "The Road." "We liked it well enough," she



Top left: Bury House, drawn by Dorothy Cooke, where Galsworthy entertained literary luminaries on summer weekends and often wrote with a favorite dog at his feet (above). The novelist played for the Bury cricket team, in photograph at left he is standing at the center of the back row wearing a straw hat. Photographs courtesy of Edward Grinstead.

says, "but they took it off before very long."

Another inspiration for Galsworthy's writing was his wife, whom he first loved while she was married to his cousin. She was to some extent his model for Irene, Soames's wife. While he flourished at Bury, she did not. William Henly, Galsworthy's head gardener and chauffeur, who still lives in the village, observes that while the novelist was frequently to be seen walking down to the River Arun, where Bob Dutton the ferryman sold soft drinks and "did" teas, she was rarely seen outside the Bury House grounds.

Since all provisions were bought by his niece from Edward Grinstead's grocery shop in the village and elsewhere, she had no need to venture outside. Neither did she participate in recreation or amusements in the village.

When her husband died in 1933 it was not much over a year before she sold Bury House. Galsworthy was devoted to her, however. Mrs. Dean remembers how evening after evening she played the piano for him as he listened raptly with his Alsatian stretched out over his feet.

Enriched by the presence of so many eminent writers and scholars, the quiet village of Bury became a sort of "Camelot" in the late '20s and early '30s, achieving fulfillment when Galsworthy was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1932, the news of which he learned, characteristically, while playing croquet one warm November day.

environment

Cloud seeding: 70% more rain for thirsty farms

By Robert C. Cowen
Staff writer of
The Christian Science Monitor

Boston
Rainmakers in Florida have some of the clearest evidence yet that cloud seeding can be made to work.

Analysis of 1976 experiments, reported last month by the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA), show that seeding gets 70 percent more rainfall out of the cumulus clouds and thunderheads that regularly float across the state than such clouds yielded on nonseeding days.

"I expect the potential lies somewhere between the low of 20 percent rainfall increase suggested by some earlier experiments and the 70 percent shown in 1976," says NOAA deputy project director Robert Sax.

If the effectiveness of such seeding holds up in further testing, NOAA project officials believe they will be well on their way to an operational seeding strategy that could substantially benefit farmers and water supply systems that depend at least partly on cumulus clouds for rainfall.

If that hope is realized, it will be only the second practical rainmaking strategy to come out of three decades of cloud-seeding research. Although there have been many claims of success, especially by commercial rainmakers, few of these have been proved to the satisfaction of meteorologists.

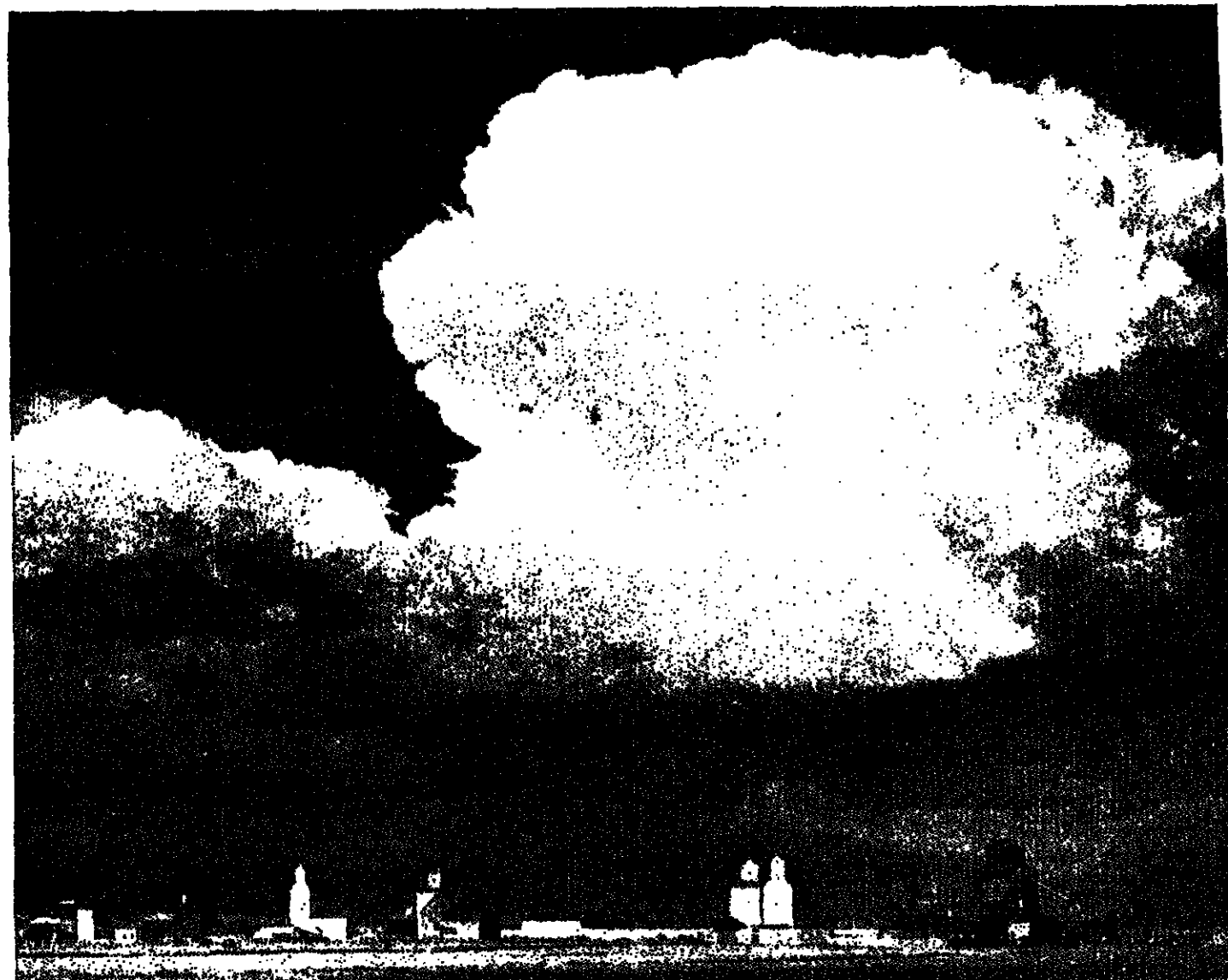
Right now, the consensus of experts is that clouds lifting over mountains (so-called orographic cloud systems) can be made to yield extra rain or snow. Also, seeding may have some positive effect on certain winter storms. But that's all that weather modification scientists promise so far.

Different situation tested

NOAA experimenters in Florida are working with a quite different weather situation. They are seeding cumulus clouds (the so-called convective cloud systems) — hence the name of their project, Florida Area Cumulus Experiment, or FACE. Such systems are important rain suppliers in many parts of the United States besides Florida, especially for Midwestern, "bread basket" farmland.

Aware that it has been hard in the past to prove that seeded clouds would not have rained anyway, or that there was a net rainfall gain, FACE officials are cautious in evaluating their success.

Mr. Sax says results of earlier tests showed the percentage of extra rainfall ap-



Cumulus clouds just ripe for seeding

parently due to seeding was much lower and less well demonstrated than the new results.

Project director William L. Woodley says the 1976 results show little likelihood that the clouds would have rained anyway.

Clouds warmed

He says the results also show that on the target area, a 5,000 square-mile rectangle south of Lake Okeechobee, seeding increased rainfall throughout the area.

FACE operates on the theory that seed-

ing cumulus clouds warms the cloud system, thereby increasing the buoyancy of the rising air and strengthening the clouds' convection. The enhanced vigor produces more rain. Heat comes from freezing of supercooled water droplets. Although liquid, these droplets are below their freezing temperature. Seeding with silver iodide crystals, that act as nuclei for ice formation, induces rapid freezing and release of the "latent" heat that water always gives up when it turns to ice.

Dr. Sax says that part of the spectacular

success of the 1976 experiments probably is due to the fact that the project switched to a more efficient seeding mechanism. Now project officials want to run a substantially larger series of trials over the next five years, both to test such improved seeding techniques and to pin down the real potential of their rainmaking strategy.

Dr. Sax says it is his personal opinion that "in the long run there is a technique here that will be valuable. Nobody's going to break a drought with it. But it will be very useful for rainfall enhancement."

Migrating birds may find their way with a built-in compass

By Robert C. Cowen
Staff writer of
The Christian Science Monitor

Scientists have long thought that birds can use Earth's magnetism to find their way.

Laboratory tests have shown that some birds can sense quite weak magnetic forces. And studies of free-flying migrants suggest there may indeed be some kind of avian "compass" at work.

Now Frank R. Moore of Clemson University in South Carolina has found what he calls "the first direct visual evidence" that small fluctuations in Earth's normal magnetism affect birds' navigation.

He has analyzed data from spring and fall

migrations taken for the years 1968 to 1974 by S. A. Gauthreaux Jr. These show the birds losing accuracy in orientation during magnetic storms.

This recalls comparable disorientation of migrants caused by man-made interference with the natural magnetic field that was reported earlier in the year by Ronald P. Larkin and Pamela J. Sutherland of Rockefeller University in New York. In this case, the scientists tracked migrating birds by radar as they passed through a low frequency antenna beam over the U.S. Navy's Wisconsin Test Facility (WTF). It was part of environmental studies made for the controversial (and currently suspended) Seafarer project to build a submarine

communication facility in northern Michigan. The WTF, located in Chequamegon National Forest, is the test site for the project.

When the antenna was broadcasting, Drs. Larkin and Sutherland found that the weak electromagnetic disturbance seemed to be sensed by the birds and to affect their navigation. The researchers reported in Science that it looked as though "some birds" can detect low-intensity magnetic changes within a few seconds and that "... birds may make use of local (10 to 1,000 km) magnetic features of the Earth's surface."

Dr. Moore, who also described his research in Science, says there's still not enough evidence to tell whether birds use magnetic clues

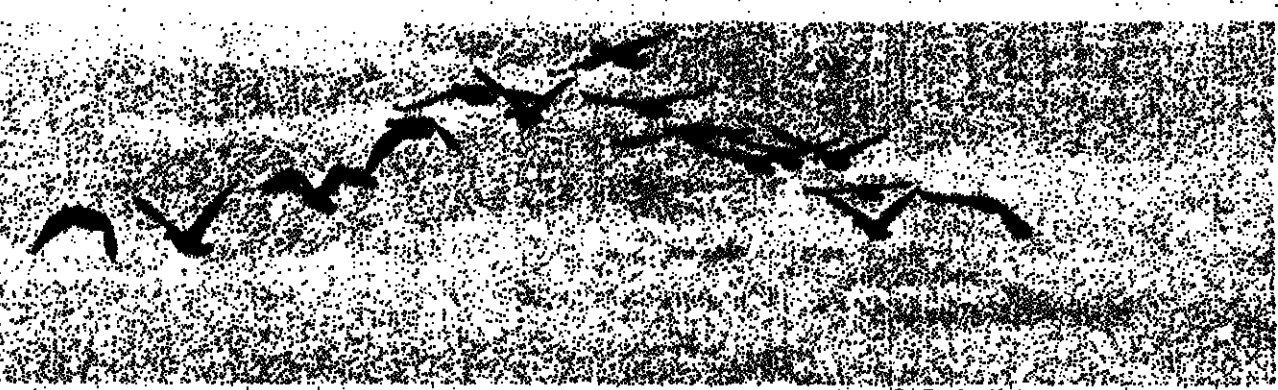
directly or whether the magnetism is linked to some other as yet unidentified effect that provides the actual guidance. Indeed, he notes, disturbing the magnetic field may simply upset the functioning of the bird's normal navigational system.

In spite of his reservations, Dr. Moore's results do strengthen the evidence that birds have a "compass."

Michael A. Bookman at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology reported in May (in Nature) that laboratory tests show homing pigeons have a sharp sensitivity to weak magnetism and respond quickly when a field is turned on. In this work, Dr. Bookman uses magnetism as the cue for finding food. The birds quickly learned to use that cue to pick out the right feeding box.

Last year, Wolfgang and Roswitha Willschko at the University of Frankfurt (Germany) showed that European robins can use what appears to be some sort of compass to map the stars. They worked under an artificial starry night sky in a room shielded from Earth's magnetic field. With no magnetism, the birds hopped and perched randomly. But when a magnet was switched on to simulate Earth's field, they hopped with a bias toward north.

The birds then continued to do this even when the magnet was turned off. Somehow, they used their magnetic sense to mark the orientation of stars, thus turning the star field into a kind of map.



Canada geese with a definite destination in mind

By Gordon N. Converse, chief photographer

arts/books

The grand theater art of Peter Paul Rubens

By Christopher Andreae

London
Peter Paul Rubens would have been 400 years old this June 28. And what an art historians' paradise of intricately related borrowings and copyings and preparations and studies and compositional ideas he would probably have propagated with his corpus of drawings in those four centuries.

As it is, his actual 33 years (and he didn't waste much of it) has provided a plentiful digging-ground for scholarly ingenuity: the detailed work that has been done by the British Museum's John Rowlands putting together the current anniversary exhibition there (until October 30) is admirably scrupulous. More than 200 drawings and oil sketches are on view. Doubtfully authentic works have been largely excluded.

Here is a show — mostly from the museum's own rich collection, but with loans from other parts of Britain and overseas — which provides a marvelous opportunity to form a close acquaintance with the intimate workings of the great Flemish

Art review

17th-century painter's art. The catalog, which reproduces every work shown, and has discussions, frequently long, on virtually all of them, is almost as good as being there.

The only catch is that Peter Paul Rubens was not really an intimate artist. His art is generally large and public. His pictures are supreme baroque theater — although it is theater of the most convincing vitality. Most of his drawings reflect this — sometimes showing how his vast compositions were developed (once or twice how they were initially conceived) and even indicating the thorough-going manner in which he had them "publicized" by means of prints.

Methods indicated

In other words, unlike the drawings of many old masters, Rubens gives an insight into the methods of his production, rather than in the more secret stirrings of his mind. There are marvelous exceptions — some in this exhibition — but most of his drawings, however original or exploratory, perform a function.

Once the viewer accepts this lack of self-disclosure, though, the drawings can in fact tell us a great deal about his art. They tell us not only what he owed to a Leonardo like the "Battle of Anghiari," but also how he transformed this archetype into his own unbelievably energetic, tortuous, interwoven dramas, such as the two thrilling oil sketches for his "Lion Hunt" on view here.

They tell us how he built up a collection of copies after antique coins, medals, cameos, and sculpture; how he did the same after the Italian masters, but also on occasion after fellow Northern artists. This exhibition includes one after Elsholmer, and another after the earlier Bruegel the Elder. They are never slavish imitations, but re-creations, which served him as adaptable suggestions.

Superb chalk studies

In a number of drawings shown he affected this sort of take-over by actually retouching (for enrichment or preservation or as a territorial imperative?) the studies of other artists. Lator



'Martyrdom of St. Paul' — oil over chalk

In his career, when he had a large studio of assistants, he worked similarly over copies of his own works, breathing life and cohesion into them, for the engravers to use as models.

It was for his assistants that he also made some of the finest drawings in the exhibition: closely observed chalk studies of live models, brought to a considerable degree of completion, so that his assistants knew precisely what he wanted them to do in the final painting. An example is a study for a figure of "Christ on the Cross": it is full of vigor and is far more triumphant than suffering. It unites his debt to the Renaissance, his own exultant vitality, and his sensitive capacity for observation.

A study for the figure of Psyche is of the same type (this one connected with a known work): it is almost Raphaelesque in its felicitous, quiet modelling. Rubens here used a male model; he evidently rarely used a female one. Considering the authenticity of women in his paintings this seems nothing short of extraordinary. Perhaps it indicates, though, the extent to which his art is derived from the study of other art.

It is a question as to whether the studies of Daniel and the Lions are studies from life: the marvelously rope-tailed, shaggy lioness, so life-like, may well have been drawn from a bronze sculpture. Even the Daniel (lent by the Pierpont Morgan Li-



Chalk sketch for 'Daniel in the Lions' Den'

brary in New York), yearning in a slightly desperate state of hand-clasped prayer, though probably drawn from a model, is also based on an engraving by Cornelis Cort.

Few oil sketches

There aren't many oil sketches in the exhibition, which is a pity: in these the opulence and fecundity of Rubens is really displayed. But there are a few stunning drawings which are not simply in the pipeline between first notion and final work: they are classed as peripheral in his oeuvre — just happily made for the pleasure of the artist and his family. Some of them are of his family — his children, his first or second wife. There is a wonderful drawing of Isabella Brant, alive with knowing and affectionate, wifely amusement, and another of Helena Fourment, light in touch, superbly sensitive. These show Rubens bringing all his manual skill and responsiveness to bear on a subject that he loved.

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Thoroughly modern Malta

By Sheridan H. Garth
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Malta

The traveler who remembers Malta before its independence from Britain in 1964 will find that it is a place of life has quickened.

Modern Malta now has traffic jams. Taxis prevail for all local transport. Small-size cars are taking the roads with their numbers and speed, while broken-down hacks have taken to the back roads.

A modern thoroughway has also come to the ancient city. Leading straight from the swanky hotels and seafaring apartments of St. Julian's, it cuts across viaducts, through a double tunnel (dug as a gift by Red China), then swoops down to the traffic nexus of Msida on the outskirts of Valetta.

This boon to motorists has given an impetus to new hotels catering to the tourist trade. They have located themselves outside Valetta, far from the magnificent harbor, in order to cling to the breezy-swept north-shore promenades near St. Julian's and Sliema. The speedway provides easy access to the airport of Luqa through which the overwhelming majority of Malta's visitors arrive from all parts of nearby Europe.

However, tradition has preserved a small group of horse carriages, or karozzins, which act as taxicabs for the leisurely or the romantically minded. Yet they now serve mainly in and near Valetta, as increasing auto traffic is driving them from the streets in other areas. Malta's gondolas — the sleek dhghaisas — poled by muscular oarsmen, have now retreated entirely from the Grand Harbor. They now can be seen on nostalgic postcards and in other more unshaded locations.

Stately cruise ships, bringing hundreds of tourists, still steam into the glorious and once strategic Grand Harbor. When my own liner, the Royal Viking Star, entered Valetta's bay recently, five other ships, one of them also from the United States, had already reached anchor, and their launches were buzzing merrily shoreward.

While strolling along the quiet back bay of Marsamxett, we were regaled with the sight of thickly clustered cabin cruisers and yachts moored side by side; origin: most of the countries of Europe.

Postcards on sale along the Kingsway in the walled capital city of Valetta show the fleets of Maltese buses painted in bright reds, yet they're actually green. It must have been quite a paint job, for there are scores of these buses.

Penetrating inland aboard a very crowded emerald vehicle we passed through venerable towns set close to each other because of Malta's population of 330,000 (on only 222 square miles). We saw stores featuring the



As smart as a row of British bobbies: Maltese police on parade

world's finest household goods. Doorways of private homes bore the brass dolphin-shaped knob that has long been traditional. Cars and trucks replaced the many horses I remembered from earlier days.

The Maltese, I noticed, were all well dressed — the young folks as fashionable as their cousins on the European mainland. And Malta's once distinctive "faldettas," the black, folded coats older women used to wear, have disappeared entirely. Only on postcards can this finery now be admired.

Alighting at the ancient harbor at St. Paul's Bay, my wife and I were charmed by the traditional view where St. Paul saw "two seas met." Its tiny stone-walled harbor looked almost as it did when Paul was here. Brightly painted dhghaisas bobbed up and down on the green water. Fishermen, waiting out the chilly northern breeze, worked at mending their nets. Yet the backdrop of this restful scene could not be ignored — a massive, many-legged platform anchored out in the bay, topped with cranes and engines. This gigantic apparatus was positioned there to repair various kinds of motors because there was no more room for it in Valetta's Grand Harbor!

Back in Valetta, Malta's mighty walled capital, built to repel the Turks and Barbary pirates, the changes were less noticeable. Yet the historic arched entry gateway penetrating these bastions was in the process of being rebuilt to provide an entrance for traffic. At its side, a shopping pavilion is being constructed to house the tourist bureau, government-sponsored shops filled with the finest of the old-time Maltese crafts, and other stores catering to tourists.

Shop windows facing narrow Republic Street (which every Maltese referred to by its original name of Kingsway) were filled with souvenirs. The stately mansions of the national branches of the Knights of Malta, the erstwhile defenders of the island, are now either museums or government offices. The sumptuous

palace of the Grand Masters, antedating the British regime, now is turned over to the bureaucracy of the independent island government, except for its marvelous Armory displaying coats of mail, helmets, maces, pikes, swords, and halberds, used by both the Knights of Malta and their Turkish besiegers during the defense of the island in 1565.

Facing the palace across the stately plaza, the onetime governor's office of British days now sports a grandiose sign proclaiming it the embassy of Malta's close friend and benefactor, Libya, only 180 miles to the south.

Modern music playing in all taxicabs, modern garb on everyone in sight, everything well painted, seem to indicate the absence of the old-time unemployment (down to 4,000 we were told, with immigrants not allowed to stay if they have no prearranged job). Shipyards in the Grand Harbor were also busy, repairing many freighters, some of them Russian.

Modern Malta is boosting its ancient Semitic

language, yet everyone we met spoke and understood English as well. Policemen, janitors, taxi and karozzin drivers, kids, passers-by, old folks squeezing into the buses with us, all answered our questions readily.

Malta is prospering in new 20th-century tempo. The oil wealth of ally Libya is often credited with the easier money that provides the spiffy new cars, widespread jobs, solvent independent government, as well as keeping the value of the Maltese pound at a high \$2.40.

To Malta fans like myself, it seems sad that one delightful item has been discarded in the rush to modernize: the stately outdoor elevator that once lifted visitors up the lovely Barracca gardens high over Valetta's crenellated walls. "Who would use it?" a policeman asked me when I protested seeing it closed and idle. "After all, except tourists who come by air, everyone has cars, and how many airborne tourists come these days to the edge of the Grand Harbor?"

Beat-up Navy town is showplace

By George Moneymun
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

New York

Plains, Georgia, isn't the only spot in the Sun Belt drawing a lot of "Yankee" tourists these days.

The soft-talking, easy-smiling Mayor of Norfolk, Virginia, Vincent J. Thomas, traveled to New York City recently to spread the good word that his once beat-up old Navy town — during World War II notorious as a collection of saloons and tattoo parlors for off-duty sailors — is becoming a showplace.

What the southeastern Virginia port has started collecting instead are tourist dollars — some \$108 million last year, as compared with \$93 million the previous year and \$81 million five years ago.

Without a Billy Carter to enliven interest in their old city, however, Mayor Thomas says with a smile, residents had to embark on what he calls a "self-grit" program which has completely transformed Norfolk's waterfront into a complex of modern malls, marinas, restaurants, boutiques, high-rise apartments, and a

\$38 million convention and cultural center. "Everyone talks about the Sun Belt explosion in terms of industrial expansion," says the Mayor, "yet the fact is that visitors now spend \$21 billion a year in the South."

At a time when many cities both north and south have been struggling to survive economically, Norfolk was able to make a comeback by aggressively taking advantage of federal programs such as community development and revenue sharing. "I don't look to the federal government to solve all our problems," says Mayor Thomas, "but we do need help over the long range."

Norfolk had the same budget problems as other cities — although not of the same magnitude as, say, New York City's — and is still trying to close a \$10 million budget gap. However, what the city has going for it is a double A bond rating and some big natural assets — including a huge natural harbor, a city surrounded by sea on three sides, 15 miles of sandy beaches along the Chesapeake Bay, and homes dating back to 1634.

The reconstruction of Norfolk, brought about by federal urban renewal funds, has prompted private developers to invest in high-rise office and bank buildings. Norfolk's long history also for the first time is successfully being marketed to tourists. The city has built a \$40 million redevelopment project has recently been launched which officials expect to further enhance Norfolk's new image as a tourist mecca.

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'Possession': a tour de force

Possession, by Nicholas Delbanco. New York: William Morrow and Company, \$8.95. London: Chatto & Windus £2.50 paperback.

By Roderick Nordell
Sordid, cynical, with aged nerves. They are going to be a subcategory of American fiction in the '70s. It is as if writers were recognizing the increasing percentage of the U.S. population that is elderly. Or perhaps their sordidness is a handy representative of a century just

whose "Possession" follows his novel of middle age, "Small Rain."

Here, with a compact storehouse of antique and contemporary observation, Mr. Delbanco contrasts several generations. Apart from a third reliance on sexual imagery, the result is a small tour de force blending the events of one April day with ornate letters from the far past, splintered memories, and nagging dreams in a way almost as demanding on the reader as on the writer.

At the center is Judah Sherbrooke, born with the century, trying to capture back his estranged wife, the "only" prized "possession" among his holdings of farm-land and buildings in Vermont. She is 25 years his junior, and their son, with a kind of asymmetry, is a quarter of a century younger still. They represent creative, ar-

tistic, and social impulses, where Judah is all literalness and justice rather than mercy — and his older sister is the housekeeper more than the wife. But, for all the Gothic melodrama Mr. Delbanco comes perilously close to, he does not draw easy comparisons among his characters. The wife is haunted by a sense of the wages of sin. Judah haltingly has reached toward a tampering of his mundane values. The complexity is hinted at in scenes like the flashback to the day when Judah knows that his son is to play a piano recital at school at 3 o'clock. At 2 o'clock Judah's tractor gets stalled in a field. Instead of trying to make the recital, he slays and finishes seedling the field on foot. Was he falling his

son? Was he creating something in his own way?

This is often a harsh book. But it suggests that in a long life "possession" can mean many things, some of them quite touching to remember.

Roderick Nordell is the Monitor's assistant chief editorial writer.

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education

Hamburg's educational experiment:

Where the pace makes the difference

By David Mutch
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Hamburg
Hans Hopp, a 10th-year student at the Alter Teichweg Comprehensive School, is tops in math, not quite so good in chemistry, and poorer in English.

He likes this school because it allows him to study these subjects at a pace that fits his abilities. He says he is getting faster in English "all the time," and he studies French as an elective. He feels pressure — but gets "enough" help from the teachers.

Although his father did not intend a university, Hans wants to study law or history at a German university.

Hans is a kind of microcosm of the advantages of West Germany's still experimental comprehensive schools.

Consider what could have happened to this 16-year-old if this school had not been reorganized in this working class neighborhood in 1968. After the fourth class, at 10 years of age, he would have been assigned to a school for the "best and the brightest," to a school for the average students, or to one for the slow ones.

Hans probably would have gone to the school for the "average" kids — and had a slim possibility of attending the university.

Now, however, at the comprehensive school, his fifth through 10th grades have been huddled in a much more flexible way, and he has more naturally found his own level of ability and achievement. He is with a large group of youngsters not separated early in their school years.

In all likelihood he will finish grades 11 through 13 here, earning the traditional German Abitur, which admits one to a German university (provided a place is open).

The universities have no entrance examinations, but depend on the prep school system

to prepare the students.

If Hans had gone to a traditional prep school (called a Gymnasium), he would have had to study all subjects at a similar pace and he would not have had electives. Problems in two subjects could have ended his university hopes.

Hans Rickels, who heads the programming staff at Alter Teichweg, said in an interview that only a third of all students are capable of performing at the same pace in all subjects. The other two-thirds have more varied degrees of talents in the different subjects, he said.

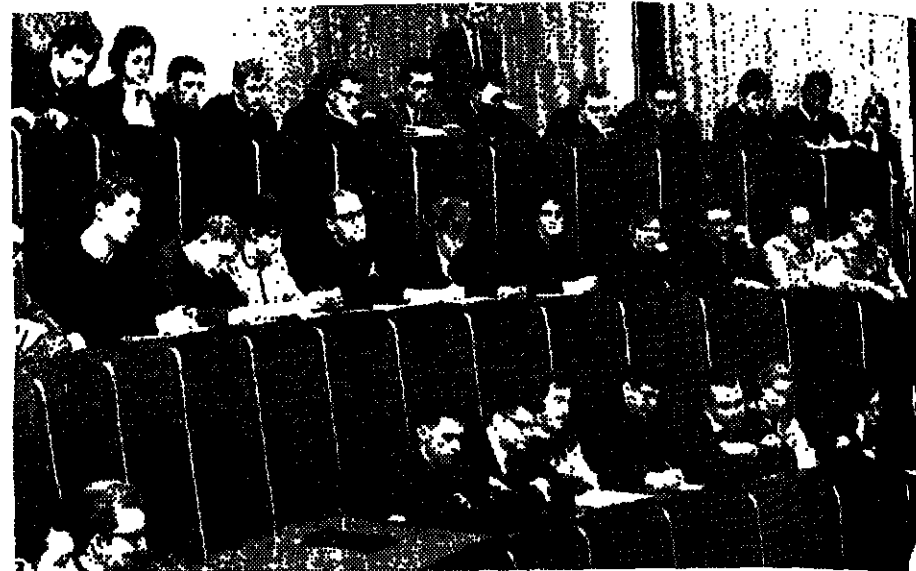
The traditional tripartite German school system, which still largely governs, although it has been modified and modernized, has complex historical roots in a centuries-old class system. It embraces the tradition of a higher education in the classics, plus the influences of the Reformation and the Enlightenment, as well as the rise of cities and the middle class and the dominant influence of Prussia, even into this century.

Modernizing influences were strong after World War I. They were smashed by the Nazis. After World War II the tendency was to pick up where the reformers of the 1920s left off. This slowed changes, compared with other countries, but it has not prevented them.

In West Germany the states are largely responsible for education.

Experimental comprehensive schools have been most widely introduced in states governed by the Social Democrats. Hamburg, a city-state, was one of the earliest to begin. Yet it has only nine comprehensive schools. On the other hand, it has 80 Gymnasiums, as well as the two other types of the three-track system. (These are called Realschule, for the average students, and Hauptschule, for the slower ones.)

Harry Weissel, director of Alter Teichweg, told this newspaper: "The decision to try comprehensive schools was a political decision." His statement accords with the tendency



After Gymnasium — University

Traditionally in West Germany, university students have come through the Gymnasiums, selected out after elementary school as potential university students and given a classical education. This was the case with those students at Saarland University. Today, there is a movement to keep all students, regardless of whether they will go to university or not, in the same comprehensive high school. Results aren't in yet as to whether the new system is working.

through the decades for reform in German education to come from the political reformers, generally the Left.

This causes an unfortunate polarization, since many of the reforms, such as a better, more career oriented education for the "common" people, is desired by a broad base in the population.

In Hamburg alone last year, 400 students could not enroll in the comprehensive school (only two of the nine are district schools) for lack of space. In other words, the parents are voting for them.

The key phrase in the reform effort is "social integration," Mr. Weissel said. But he

added: "Have we really done it? Do our students do better in society? After 150 years of the three-track system and eight years of this, we just don't know."

But these educators cannot hide their approval of their school. Mr. Rickels, the programming director, said, for example: "We know that 94 percent of our students now qualify at the Gymnasium level, while before the school changed it was 10 percent."

Only in the 1980s will a broad evaluation of West Germany's comprehensive schools begin. It is bound to be fiercely ideological. But already these schools have caused modification in many areas of education.

Scientists search the skies for 'pregnant' stars

By Robert C. Cowen
Staff writer of
The Christian Science Monitor

Scientists who study the origin of planets sometimes wish they could see backward in time. In a sense, their wish may soon be granted.

Astronomers at the University of Arizona's Steward Observatory are identifying star systems where planets may be forming. They hope to find enough of these in various stages of the planet-making process to give astronomers an evolutionary sequence to study. And that, by analogy, would be roughly equivalent to looking backward through time at the early evolution of our own solar system.

In June, Steward astronomers Roger Thompson and Peter Stettinmutter (observatory director) reported the first discovery of one of these star systems. Edwin Erickson, Fred Wittelborn, and D. W. Strecker of the Ames Research Center of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), worked with them to confirm that an object known for de-

cade actually seems to be a young star orbited by a disc of dust and gas that is ripe for condensation into planets.

Now, Dr. Thompson says, he and his Steward colleagues are searching through a catalogue of some 300 similar stars and already have a couple of candidates for more detailed analysis.

The origin of planets is hazy. There is no generally accepted theory that explains in detail what happens. But, in one form or another, most theories today envision a star and its planetary system condensing from a cosmic cloud of dust and gas that collapses under the force of its own gravity.

When the collapsing cloud is dense enough, it ignites the nuclear fire and a new star is born. The residue of the cloud then orbits the star in the form of a thin disc. As this disc cools, irregularities in it may condense into masses that eventually form planets.

The ability to pick out stars that may have planet-forming discs is one of the early fruits of the new science of infrared astronomy,



Artist's impression of MWC 349: spawning planets?

which studies the universe by means of the infrared (heat) radiation that celestial objects emit.

The new discovery also illustrates the value of routine astronomical record-keeping.

The planet-forming star system reported in June was catalogued along with some 900 other stars in a survey several decades ago. It was logged in as MWC 349, a nondescript star some 10,000 light years away in the constellation Cygnus (Swan), and forgotten. Then, in 1970, the infrared surveys astronomers were beginning to make showed MWC 349 to be an unusually strong infrared emitter. The old records were gotten out and the star suddenly acquired extraordinary interest.

Astronomers noted that it was losing brightness rapidly, dimming 1 to 2 percent a month year after year. Yet it still shone 11 times too brightly for a star of its astronomical classification. Radio astronomers such as Prof. Sir Martin Ryle of Cambridge University noted that, at radio wave lengths as well, it "shone" too brightly but was dimming rapidly. Such uniqueness marked the star for special study.

The Steward astronomers studied the stars' infrared image from the ground, while the NASA team used a flying observatory to climb above much of the atmosphere. Since the atmosphere blocks some infrared wave-lengths,

this provided useful supplementary data.

These and other data do not fit the patterns of light, radio waves, and heat radiation expected for a star. But they do match those expected for a disc of gas and dust. In fact, they suggest that the disc shines 10 times more brightly than the star, accounting for the unusual brilliance, and dims rapidly as it cools and loses matter that flows into the star. In another 100 years, the disc may not be visible at all.

As the astronomers now envision it, they are dealing with a star only about 1,000 years old and with a disc heated by the internal friction of its swirling dust and gas. The inner part of the disc would extend beyond the orbit of our outermost planet, Pluto, to measure it in solar system terms. That is the part that shines brightly. The outer disc beyond is too cold to shine; but it might be ready to produce planets, says Dr. Thompson.

The star is 10 times the size of our sun and 30 times as massive. It will likely burn itself out in only 100 million years, compared to the 10 billion-year lifetime estimated for the sun. But, although the two stars aren't strictly comparable, the method by which planets form around them should be similar enough to help astronomers learn more about how our solar system started, says Dr. Thompson.

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Le droit à l'existence de Formose

(Traduction d'un article paraissant à la page 30)

par Ray S. Cline

Avec tristesse, et non avec colère, je dois trouver à redire quant aux recommandations politiques, concernant la Chine, du plus vénérable des sinologues américains, John K. Fairbank de l'université de Harvard. Fairbank argumente pour ce qu'il appelle lui-même un « mythe politique » — « l'idéal de la Chine unique » — ignorant la réalité évidente qu'il y a deux Chines, deux gouvernements régissant effectivement des populations et des territoires. L'un étant la dictature communiste sur le continent et l'autre l'alliée des U.S.A. dans l'île de Formose.

Cette extraordinaire plaidoirie visant à faire adopter par la politique étrangère des États-Unis le mythe de la Chine unique, se fonde sur l'argument que la « légitimité de Pékin ne peut être définitivement établie tant que Taïpei continuera à prétendre être la seule vraie Chine ». Il n'est pas expliqué pourquoi c'est soit le droit de l'Amérique, soit dans son intérêt de conférer une telle légitimité à Pékin, alors que Pékin elle-même n'a pu la remporter face à l'auto-défense déterminée de 17 millions de Chinois demeurant à Formose, qui sont orientés vers les U.S.A., et dont l'esprit est démocratique.

Fairbank, écrivant récemment dans le *New York Times*, a dit tout simplement que les U.S.A. doivent accepter les « trois [durs] conditions » de Pékin — qu'il résume correctement comme « plus de reconnaissance de la république rivale de Chine, pas de traité de sécurité avec elle, pas de forces armées américaines à Formose » — non pas parce que ces sont des mesures légitimes dans la recherche des propres intérêts de l'Amérique, mais parce que Pékin l'exige. Si l'administration Carter obtempère, ce serait le premier exemple où les « États-Unis » permettraient que les « obliga-

tions précises consenties par traité à un allié soient foulées aux pieds par la décision de s'incliner devant les ordres d'un gouvernement étranger.

Ceux qui proposent cette capitulation devant Pékin essayent à la fois de garder et de manger leur part de gâteau disant, ainsi que Fairbank le fait, que la société chinoise de l'île de Formose « survivra grâce à sa propre vitalité » et que le commerce, les investissements, les voyages et les contacts culturels américains avec Formose « se poursuivront comme par le passé ». C'est là formuler un pieux espoir ou prendre ses désirs pour des réalités, non pas une anticipation réaliste.

Si les États-Unis annulent leur reconnaissance, retirent leurs effectifs militaires et abrogent les engagements stipulés dans leur traité de défense, un coup qui finirait certainement par être fatal serait porté à la société florissante de Formose. Une fois que le gouvernement des U.S.A. aura dit que légalement les 17 millions de Chinois demeurant à Formose ne forment qu'une province de « la Chine unique » gouvernée par la république populaire de Chine à Pékin (RPC), la RPC commencera à serrer la vis aux nations et aux firmes commerciales privées pour boycotter le commerce avec Formose ou le canaliser par Pékin.

Ces pressions sont appliquées maintenant mais sans succès à cause de la sécurité assurée par les relations avec les U.S.A. La vitalité vraiment miraculeuse de Formose ne pourra pas survivre à plus de trois ans de boycottage et de chantage une fois que les États-Unis auront renoncé à leur droit légal de protéger le peuple de Formose. Toutes « garanties tacites » de la part de Pékin seraient sans valeur d'après la « droit international », et les in-

vestissements stratégiques des États-Unis à Formose ne pourraient plus être protégés légalement.

Dans ces conditions la stabilité politique de la République de Chine ne pourrait pas manquer d'être minée, en particulier parce qu'elle dépend tellement des compétences directrices du petit groupe de fonctionnaires fortement en faveur des U.S.A., dirigé par le premier ministre Chiang Ching-kuo qui gouverne si bien l'île actuellement. Ce groupe de fonctionnaires a subordonné toutes considérations politiques à l'établissement de Formose comme bastion des principes et des intérêts stratégiques des États-Unis dans l'Océan Pacifique. Le gouvernement pro-américain de Formose sera forcément discrédité et affaibli par une action calculée des U.S.A. en vue de se défaire d'un allié loyal pour se conformer aux trois conditions posées par Pékin.

La plupart des Chinois de la République de Chine pensent actuellement que les Américains seraient trop fiers ainsi que trop honorables pour se livrer à cette action ; s'il était démontré qu'ils ont tort, le préjudice porté au moral et à la confiance dans l'avenir de la République de Chine serait incalculable. Les Chinois de Formose se considèrent comme un modèle de liberté politique et de progrès économique exposé à la vue du monde ; et, comme toute petite nation subissant des attaques, ils croient qu'ils ont le « droit d'exister ».

Une impression profonde et défavorable se serait ressentie à travers toute l'Asie si les U.S.A. renonçaient à leurs engagements afin de se concilier les dirigeants communistes chinois Hua Kuo-feng et Teng Hsiao-ping qui, sans aucun effort d'imagination, ne peuvent être « considérés » comme étant fondamen-

talement en faveur de la liberté politique, des droits de l'homme, ou des États-Unis.

La seule chose dont la RPC puisse se prévaloir auprès des U.S.A. est que son gouvernement est anti-soviétique et c'est seulement parce qu'elle craint maintenant l'U.R.S.S. que les U.S.A., l'autre super-puissance que Pékin dénonce systématiquement. En fait, quand données ses faiblesses économiques et militaires, Pékin a besoin de Washington bien plus que Washington n'a besoin de Pékin. Les gens de par tout le monde se demandent pourquoi l'administration Carter céderait-elle aux exigences de Pékin, savoir que les U.S. mettent en danger la République de Chine, l'une des principales nations du monde parmi les 40 plus importantes en population, dans le but de conférer une « légitimité » à un régime tyrannique qui s'est installé sur le continent uniquement grâce à sa puissance militaire.

La réponse juste est évidemment que les U.S.A. doivent reconnaître les faits — reconnaître deux Chines de facto sur la base des populations et du territoire qu'elles gouvernent effectivement maintenant. Cela peut ne faire entièrement plaisir à aucun des deux gouvernements chinois, mais cela permettrait aux mandats les plus extravagantes des deux régimes d'être réglées par l'histoire, quand les temps seront révolus, non pas par le Département d'État des U.S.A. ou la Maison Blanche. La stabilité de l'Est asiatique ne serait pas troublée et la politique américaine au sujet de la Chine représenterait la réalité, non un mythe chéri par Pékin.

M. Cline, précédemment assistant-chef de C.I.A., est directeur exécutif des études au centre universitaire de Georgetown pour les études stratégiques et internationales.

Taiwans Recht auf Existenz

(Dieser Artikel erscheint in englischer Sprache auf Seite 30.)

Von Ray S. Cline

Nicht Ärger, sondern Sorge veranlaßt mich, gegen die von dem ehrwürdigen amerikanischen Sinologen John K. Fairbank von der Harvard-Universität empfohlene China-Politik Einwendungen zu machen. Fairbank setzt sich für die Existenz nur eines Chinas ein — etwas, was er selbst als „politische Mythe“ bezeichnet —, und er ignoriert dabei die augenscheinliche Realität zweier chinesischer Staaten, zweier Regierungen, die Bevölkerung und Land fest im Griff haben: die kommunistische Diktatur auf dem Festland und der amerikanischen Bündnispartner auf der Insel Taiwan.

Dieses ungewöhnliche Plädoyer, die Vereinigten Staaten sollten sich in ihrer Außenpolitik die Mythe von der Existenz nur eines Chinas zu eigen machen, gründet sich auf das Argument, daß Peking „Legitimität“ beansprucht, „das eine wahre China zu sein“. Es wird nicht erklärt, warum Amerika das Recht habe oder warum es in seinem Interesse liegt, Peking solche eine Legitimität zu verschaffen, wenn es sich angesichts der entschlossenen Verteidigung von 17 Millionen Amerikanern orientierten, demokratisch gesinnten Chinesen auf Taiwan nicht selbst dazu verhalten könnte.

Fairbank, der kürzlich in der *New York Times* zu Wort kam, sagt einfach, die USA müßten die harten „drei Bedingungen“ Peking akzeptieren — die er korrekt wiedergibt: „Abbruch der diplomatischen Beziehungen“ zu dem Rivalen, der Republik China, kein Sicherheitsvertrag mit ihr und keine amerikanischen Streitkräfte auf Taiwan“ —, doch nicht, weil es sich hier um folgerichtige Schritte im Interesse Amerikas handelt, sondern weil Peking es verlangt. Wenn die Regierung Carter darauf

einginge, würden sich die Vereinigten Staaten zum erstenmal über abendliche vertragliche Verpflichtungen gegenüber einem Alliierten hinwegsetzen und sich dem Diktat einer fremden Regierung beugen.

Die Fürsprecher dieser Kapitulation vor Peking suchen ihren Willen durchzusetzen, indem sie wie Fairbank erklären, das gesellschaftliche System auf Taiwan werde „aufgrund seiner eigenen Vitalität überleben“ und Amerika werde „nach wie vor“ mit der Insel Handel treiben, dort investieren und den Touristenverkehr und Kulturaustausch weiterführen. Das ist eine fromme Hoffnung oder Wunschdenken, nicht eine realistische Erwartung.

Wenn die Vereinigten Staaten die diplomatischen Beziehungen zu Taiwan abbrechen, ihre Streitkräfte abziehen und sich ihrer vertraglichen Verpflichtungen gegenüber Taiwan verweigern, wird Taiwan ein Schlag mit einem letzten Endes tödlichen Ausgang versetzt. Wenn die U.S.-Regierung erst einmal rechtsverbindlich erklärt, daß Taiwan mit seinen 17 Millionen Chinesen lediglich eine Provinz des „einen Chinas“ sei und von der Volksrepublik China in Peking beherrscht werde, dann wird letztere anderen Ländern und einzelnen Geschäftsmännern das Recht einräumen, auf Taiwan einzugehen, um den Handel mit Taiwan zu boykottieren oder ihn über Peking abzuwickeln.

Peking bedient sich schon jetzt dieser Drohkredenz, doch ohne Erfolg, denn die Verbindung zu den USA gewährt Taiwan Sicherheit. Wenn die Vereinigten Staaten ihr Recht, die Bevölkerung Taiwans zu schützen, aufgeben, kann die in der Tat wunderbare wirtschaftliche Vitalität Taiwans nicht mehr als drei Jahre des Boykotts und der Erpressung verkraften. Jegliche „stillschweigenden Garantien“ seitens Peking wären nach Inter-

nationalen Recht wertlos, und die strategischen Investitionen der USA in Taiwan könnten nicht mehr rechtlich geschützt werden.

Unter diesen Umständen würde die politische Stabilität der Republik China unvermeidlich untergraben, insbesondere deshalb, weil sie in so hohem Maße auf den Fähigkeiten der kleinen Gruppe pro-amerikanischer Manager beruht, angeführt von Ministerpräsident Chiang Ching-kuo, die das Land jetzt so gut regiert. Diese Gruppe hat alle politischen Belange dem Ziel untergeordnet, Taiwan zu einer Bastion der Prinzipien und strategischen Interessen der USA im westlichen Pazifik zu machen. Die pro-amerikanische Führung Taiwans würde in Mitleidenschaft gezogen und geschwächt, wenn die Vereinigten Staaten auf ihren eigenen Vorteil bedacht, einen treuen Verbündeten im Stich lassen, um auf die drei von Peking gestellten Bedingungen einzugehen.

Die meisten Chinesen in der Republik China glauben, die Amerikaner seien zu stolz und zu ehrlich, um solch einen Schritt zu tun. Sollte sich jedoch dieser Glaube als falsch erweisen, werden die Moral und das Vertrauen auf die Zukunft der Republik China „unabsehbaren Schaden“ erleiden. Die Chinesen auf Taiwan betrachten ihr Land als ein Musterbeispiel für politische, rechtliche und wirtschaftlichen Fortschritt und wie jedes andere kleine Land, auf Existenz zu haben.

Es wird eine starke und ungünstige Wirkung auf ganz Asien ausstrahlen, wenn sich die USA in ihren Verpflichtungen gegenüber den kommunistischen Führer Chinas, Hua Kuo-feng und Teng Hsiao-ping, zu beschwichigen, die man

selbst dann nicht als Freunde politischer Freiheit, der Menschenrechte oder der Vereinigten Staaten ansehen kann, wenn man seiner Phantasie freien Lauf läßt.

Das einzige, was die Volksrepublik China gegenüber den USA geltend machen kann, ist, daß ihre Regierung antisowjetisch ist. Sie ist es aber nur deshalb, weil sie die UdSSR jetzt mehr fürchtet als die Vereinigten Staaten. Eine andere Großmacht, die von Peking „hervorgebracht“ wird, ist in Anbetracht seiner militärischen und wirtschaftlichen Schwächen braucht Peking Washington viel mehr als umgekehrt. Warum also, fragen sich die Menschen überall in der Welt, sollte die Regierung Carter der Forderung Peking nachgeben und die Republik China einem Risiko aussetzen, eins der wichtigsten Länder in der Welt, das zu den vierzig bevölkerungsreichsten zählt —, um einem tyrannischen System, das sich allein mit militärischer Gewalt auf dem Festland etabliert hat, „Legitimität“ zu verschaffen?

Die richtige Antwort für die USA besteht ganz eindeutig darin, daß sie zwei Chines de facto anerkennen müssen, und zwar aufgrund der effektiven Kontrolle, die beide über ihre Bevölkerung und ihr Territorium ausüben. Dies mag keinen der beiden chinesischen Staaten restlos glücklich machen, doch es würde es der Geschichte und nicht dem amerikanischen Außenministerium oder dem Weißen Haus überlassen, die übertriebenen Streitfragen zwischen beiden Regierungen zu gegebener Zeit zu klären. Dies würde die Stabilität in Ostasien aufrechterhalten, und die amerikanische China-Politik würde die Realitäten und nicht eine in Peking gehegte Mythe widerspiegeln.

Ray S. Cline, ehemaliger stellvertretender Direktor des C.I.A., ist Studiendirektor des Zentrums für strategische und internationale Studien an der Georgetown-Universität.

French/German

(This religious article appears in English on the Home Forum page)

Traduction de l'article religieux paraissant en anglais sur la page The Home Forum
(Eine Übersetzung des religiösen Artikels erscheint auf der Home Forum-Seite)

Triompher de l'injustice

Je savais que je n'avais pas tort l'hérisse à chacun des règlements du code de la route quand le conducteur de l'autre voiture débotta, heurta ma voiture et l'endommagea. Nous avons échangé les renseignements nécessaires et plus tard j'obtiens un devis des frais de réparation et présentai une demande de remboursement à son agent d'assurance. Quelques semaines plus tard je reçus un chèque de la compagnie d'assurance couvrant exactement la moitié du prix de la réparation. Je téléphonai à l'expert pour faire une réclamation et l'on me dit que je n'étais pas entièrement sans torts et que par conséquent il ne m'était payé que la moitié des frais encourus.

Je me mis alors à réfléchir sur la justice. Je me rappelai que la justice est une qualité de Dieu, ainsi que la Science Chrétienne l'enseigne. Dans la Bible, nous lisons : « [1.] Tout-Puissant [est] grand par la force, par la justice, par le droit souverain. » [2.] L'Amour, est omnipotent ainsi que la justice, déclare, alors tout doit être soumis à Sa justice, et il ne peut y avoir aucun pouvoir qui puisse em-

pêcher cette justice de se manifester dans notre existence quotidienne. Je savais que cette compréhension opérerait en tant que loi pour corriger l'injustice et résulterait en une solution juste et équitable de tout problème qui pourrait survenir.

Je téléphonai de nouveau à l'expert, je discutai l'affaire avec lui du point de vue de l'impartialité et je reçus sous peu un chèque pour le solde des frais de réparation.

Il n'y a pas de circonstance où la loi divine de justice ne peut être invoquée pour corriger l'injustice et pour établir ce qui est bon et équitable. Il faut que nous nous rapprochions davantage de Dieu afin de percevoir plus clairement qu'il est omnipotent, partout présent et suprêmement bon. L'homme — l'identité réelle, spirituelle, de chacun de nous — exprime tous les attributs de Dieu, y compris la justice, l'intégrité et la sagesse. Le mal, l'opposé imaginaire de Dieu, ne peut avoir ni présence ni pouvoir et il est par conséquent inexistant.

L'injustice est la croyance que le mal peut supplanter le bien et que le faux peut triompher du vrai, mais on triomphe de ces

croyances en reconnaissant le pouvoir de Dieu exprimé par ses lois. Mary Baker Eddy, Découvreuse et Fondatrice de la Science Chrétienne, écrit : « Un entendement égoïste et limité peut être injuste, mais l'Entendement divin et illimité est la loi immortelle de la justice comme de la miséricorde. » Cette loi ne peut être contrecarrée, elle est irrésistible, suprême.

Christ Jésus fut soumis à l'injustice suprême quand il fut jugé, condamné et crucifié. Mais cela ne lui enleva pas la conviction qu'il avait de la suprématie et de la totalité de l'Amour, ce qui lui permit de dire de ses persécuteurs : « Père, pardonne-leur, car ils ne savent ce qu'ils font. » La compréhension qu'il avait de sa filiation avec Dieu permit à Jésus de s'élever au-dessus de toute prétention d'injustice et de haine et de prouver, grâce à sa résurrection, le pouvoir de la loi divine de justice et d'amour.

Si nous avons à faire face à une situation dans laquelle l'injustice menace de dominer, nous ne devrions pas avoir de crainte ou d'effroi. Nous pouvons prendre conscience du fait qu'à portée de la main se trouve une loi

divine entièrement capable de renverser, dans notre pensée, toute la situation et d'établir la justice en manifestant dans nos affaires la perfection de la création spirituelle de Dieu. Dans la mesure où nous comprenons cette création qui se développe continuellement, nous verrons nos harmonies, notre intelligence et sa bonté se manifester dans notre vie. Il ne nous faut pas — nous ne devrions pas — prédéterminer la façon exacte dont cela s'accomplira, mais nous devrions faire confiance à Dieu et être certains que le résultat sera en conformité avec Sa volonté. Voilà la prière efficace.

Job 37:23; 'Science et Santé avec la Clé des Écritures', p. 36; 'Luc 23:34.

Christian Science (Kristen 'Sinnens)

La traduction française de l'œuvre d'étude de la Science Chrétienne, « Science et Santé avec la Clé des Écritures » de Mary Baker Eddy, est en vente en anglais en regard. On peut l'acheter dans les Salles de Lecture de la Science Chrétienne, ou le commandeur à Frances C. Carlson, Publisher's Agent, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

Pour tous renseignements sur les études publications de la Science Chrétienne en français, écrire à The Christian Science Publishing Society, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

(This religious article appears in English on the Home Forum page)

Übersetzung des auf der Home-Forum-Seite in englischer Sprache erscheinenden religiösen Artikels
(Eine deutsche Übersetzung erscheint wöchentlich)

Überwindung von Ungerechtigkeit

Ich wußte, daß es nicht meine Schuld war. Ich hatte jede Verkehrsregelung beachtet. Aber das andere Auto verließ seine Fahrbahn, stieß mit meinem Wagen zusammen und beschädigte ihn. Wir tauschten die notwendigen Informationen aus; dann holte ich Kostenanschläge für die Reparatur ein und forderte von meiner Versicherungsgesellschaft Schadenersatz. Innerhalb weniger Wochen erhielt ich von dieser Versicherungsgesellschaft einen Scheck, der nur die Hälfte der Reparaturkosten deckte. Ich rief den Sachbearbeiter an, um dagegen Einspruch zu erheben. Mir wurde gesagt, daß ich nicht völlig schuldlos gewesen und mir deshalb nur die Hälfte der gesamten Kosten erstattet werden sei.

Daraufhin begann ich über Gerechtigkeit nachzudenken. Ich erinnerte mich daran, daß, wie die Christliche Wissenschaft lehrt, Gerechtigkeit eine Eigenschaft Gottes ist. In der Bibel lesen wir: „Groß an Kraft und reich an Gerechtigkeit, wird er das Recht nicht beugen.“ Ich folgerne, daß, wenn Gott, das göttliche Gemüt, Liebe, allmächtig ist, wie die Bibel erklärt, alles Seine Gerechtigkeit unterstehen muß und keine Macht es verhindern könnte, daß diese Gerechtigkeit in

unserem täglichen Leben sichtbar wird. Ich wußte, daß dieses Verständnis als ein Gesetz wirken würde, das Ungerechtigkeit beseitigt und zu einer fairen und richtigen Lösung eines jeden Problems, das auftauchen könnte, führt.

Ich rief den Sachbearbeiter noch einmal an, besprach die Angelegenheit mit ihm im Lichte von Fairness, und es dauerte nicht lange, bevor ich einen Scheck für den Restbetrag der Reparaturkosten erhielt.

Es gibt keinen Fall, wo wir uns nicht auf Gottes Gesetz der Gerechtigkeit berufen könnten, um Ungerechtigkeit zu beseitigen und das, was gerecht und gut ist, durchzusetzen. Wir müssen Gott näherkommen, um deutlich wahrzunehmen, daß Er allmächtig, allgegenwärtig und überaus gut ist. Der Mensch — die wirkliche, geistige Identität eines jeden von uns — bringt alle Eigenschaften Gottes zum Ausdruck, auch Gerechtigkeit, Integrität und Weisheit. Da das Böse, das das fiktive Gegenteil Gottes, weder Gegenwart noch Macht haben kann, existiert es in Wirklichkeit nicht.

Ungerechtigkeit stellt die Annahme dar, das Böse könne das Gute verdrängen und das Falsche über das Richtige triumphieren. Aber diese Annahmen werden durch das

Wissen um die Macht Gottes, die durch Seine Gesetze zum Ausdruck kommt, überwunden. Mary Baker Eddy, die Entdeckerin und Gründerin der Christlichen Wissenschaft, schreibt: „Ein selbstsüchtiges und begrenztes Gemüt mag ungerecht sein, das unbegrenzte und göttliche Gemüt jedoch ist das unsterbliche Gesetz sowohl der Gerechtigkeit wie der Barmherzigkeit.“ Diesem Gesetz kann kein Widerstand entgegengesetzt werden; es ist allem überlegen.

Christus Jesus widerfuhr die größte Ungerechtigkeit, als er verurteilt und gequält wurde. Aber dies nahm ihm nicht die Überzeugung von der Allerbarmenheit und Allheil der Liebe, die es ihm ermöglichte, für seine Verfolger zu beten: „Vater, vergib ihnen; denn sie wissen nicht, was sie tun!“ Da Jesus seine Gotteskindschaft verstand, konnte er sich über jeden Anspruch von Ungerechtigkeit und Haß erheben und durch seine Auferstehung die Macht des göttlichen Gesetzes der Gerechtigkeit und Liebe beweisen.

Wenn wir uns in einer Situation befinden, wo Ungerechtigkeit die Oberhand zu gewinnen droht, sollten wir uns weder fürchten noch entmutigt fühlen. Wir können uns verge-

genwärtigen, daß es ein göttliches Gesetz gibt, das die gesamte Situation in unserem Bewußtsein durchaus umkehren und Gerechtigkeit herbeiführen kann, indem es die Vollkommenheit der geistigen Schöpfung Gottes in unseren Angelenken offenbar werden läßt. In dem Maße, wie wir diese sich ständig entfaltende Schöpfung verstehen, werden wir in unserem Leben Beweise ihrer Harmonie, Intelligenz und Güte sehen. Wir brauchen, ja sollten nicht im voraus bestimmen, wie das nun alles vollbracht werden wird; vielmehr sollten wir Gott vertrauen, in der Gewißheit, daß das Ergebnis Seinem Willen entsprechen wird. Das ist wirksames Gebet.

Matth 5:23 [in der Zürcher Bibel]; 'Wissenschaft und Gesundheit mit Schlüssel zur Heiligen Schrift', S. 38; 'Lukas 23:34.

Christian Science (Kristen 'Sinnens)

Die deutsche Übersetzung des Lehrbuchs der Christlichen Wissenschaft, „Wissenschaft und Gesundheit mit Schlüssel zur Heiligen Schrift“ von Mary Baker Eddy, ist mit dem englischen Text auf der gegenüberliegenden Seite erhältlich. Das Buch kann in den Lesesalons der Christlichen Wissenschaft gekauft werden oder von Frances C. Carlson, Publisher's Agent, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

Ausführliche Informationen über andere christlich-wissenschaftliche Schriften in deutscher Sprache erhält auf Anfrage der Verlag, The Christian Science Publishing Society, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.



Cape Cod, Massachusetts

Early morning date with the sea

By Barth J. Falkenberg, staff photographer

Truth is beauty

As the master of High Renaissance art, Michelangelo was perhaps his age's most unfiring explorer of the subtle relationship between the artist's creative vision and the material substances upon which he ultimately depends for its expression.

Throughout his lifetime — as if to exhaust himself and thereby slow his demanding vision — he wrestled with the most challenging of materials: rough blocks of brittle marble, splintery stone and quick-drying tempera.

Standing in awe, his pupils would watch as massive blocks of freshly quarried marble surrendered themselves under their master's furiously insistent hands which could chisel faster and more precisely than any artist living in 16th-century Florence.

Yet, like Jacob, Michelangelo was wrestling not with the literal form before him but with the symbol for which it stood — his vision. For him, his hands were never fast nor supple enough to free not so much the image held captive beneath the marble surface as his own imagination from its unfathomable depths.

Michelangelo's theory of beauty, his quest for communicating its perfection, were wholly in keeping with the age's enthusiastic embrace of Neoplatonism which held that all material objects, especially all art forms, were merely inferior copies of their ideal forms as they existed in the realm of pure spirit.

Michelangelo's writing and early sculpture confirm that his artistic sensibilities were fully attuned to the Neoplatonists yet his perpetual search for ideal beauty was more a measure of his genius as an artist than his susceptibility to intellectual influence. For him, to use Keats' phrase, truth was beauty, and beauty truth.

Michelangelo's genius showed itself not only in the prolific mediums in which he successfully captured the image of beauty and the truth it suggested, but in his ability to translate the ethereal without losing a necessary humanity.

For him, there were no chilled icons of beauty, no abstract emblems of aspired virtue. For Michelangelo, the ideal only served to underline the possible. And it was such a belief which balanced the difficult equation between creative vision and its material medium.

Michelangelo's endless quest for the ideal produced some of his most famous sculptures — his David with its Herculean authority, his Pietà in which forgiveness moves in every fold. But, not unexpectedly, his frequent failure to consummate his vision resulted in deep disillusionment and the eventual abandonment of many a project.

At 43, after one of his largest failures, the Julius Tomb, Michelangelo began work on the Medici Chapel in Florence. Designed as a memorial for four members of the Medici family, all of whom Michelangelo knew in his youth, the tomb was one of his greatest architectural and sculptural achievements, and its crown was the madonna pictured here.

Though revolutionary in its imaginative positioning of the child — whose face turns away from the viewer towards his mother — the Medici madonna's greatest virtue is its power to convey the quality of grace, a grace both human in its sorrow and divine in its transcendence of that sorrow.

Unlike the smiling madonnas so popular in the second half of the 15th century, the Medici madonna is inward staring, reminiscent of Donatello's sad-eyed virgin. Her face, an alloy of masculine and feminine features, assumes universal appeal in its tender nobility.

Her eyes, swollen from grief, find their echo in the shut mouth. Together her sublime features become a centering of sorrow, a sorrow of one who bears the knowledge of the possible and the weight of its delay. The young madonna watches as her young child appeals to her as others, later, will appeal to him. Her face is for a moment the face of the world, its own forgiveness.

Like the slave statues begun only a few years earlier, the Medici madonna remains unfinished. For Michelangelo it was a categorical failure, one more marble block which had failed to yield the perfect image chiseled in his imagination. Yet, as history has judged, the slave statues and the Medici madonna remain among the artist's supreme accomplishments. Devoid of mannered features, they reveal the power of vision and the challenge to material substance.

If his Pietà was what Michelangelo described as "the heart's image," the Medici madonna, whose face is veiled by heavy chisel markings, is the world's image. Caught in flight between the finished and the unfinished, the possible and the ideal, she is no less than the heroic of the everyday.

Alexandra Johnson



'The Medici Madonna' c. 1524: Marble sculpture by Michelangelo

Courtesy of The Medici Chapel, Florence

For any traveler, confronted by danger

What stirs, what breathes, all about one here?

Why this trembling? This flinching from it?

Not only brigands are abroad in the dark
Not only assassins, with club or knife,
lurk at the end of the unavoidable passage.

how it has proved, time and again,
to be Michael's sword
unsheathed for your sake!

Or that soft rush from every side? What allies
in the nick of time dispatched, and perhaps
in some quite undreamed-of guise.

For deliverance
may assume many forms, and wear
many different names. May speak too
(in who knows what diversity of tongues?)
not alone to you as with beating heart

you make your way through a lawless place
but to all — all —

who at this hour
prowl without knowing why it is they prowl,
seeking for they know not what in the dark:
and so, most desperately, need to be met

(here where the black-mouthed passage waits)

by an angel, shaped to appear to them,
who will call — call —
through the deadliest night
in whatever secret patois is theirs.

the arresting, and the redeeming, word.

Doris Peel

A way

How do I love you — who are no longer here
for me to tell? I need a tenuous way
of shaping words you know, yet may not hear.
I want a soundless speech for what I say.

Sign language? hands inventing out-of-air
patterns? a sculptured finger-poetry?
What semaphores of mine may enter your rare
receiving presence? Have you yet eyes to see?

Lilies? lilacs? a rose? Can they convey
urgent unburdening, this heart's intent?
Where shall I leave them, where they might assay
this longing with that heaviness of scent?

The question stirs, catches at cloud, a bough.
I'm standing at tree-base and telling how.

Norma Farber

Defining forgiveness

In this combustible age, when so often human justice becomes equated with reprisal, the decision to take an offense lightly is frequently regarded as weakness. For many, the ability to erase resentment caused by injustice seems puzzling if not absurd. After all, if an offense is an injustice should we be silent about it?

Over the phone, through the media, across your desk or luncheon table, you're faced by somebody's indignation at yet another bureaucratic blunder. You're being urged to agree that if no one "speaks up" nothing will be done about the problem. As you emerge again into your day with the weight of human wrong in your thought increased, you may even feel slightly virtuous for having listened dutifully while the sparks of that shared bitterness continue to scorch you. And you may have wondered afterwards whether the only alternative to violent disagreement really amounted to your own placatory affirmatives and shoulder shrugs.

Where today is the ability to separate offense from both offender and offended, to lift a relationship above the issue that would divide it, to believe in the integrity of the human spirit in spite of the frailty and the barbarism that betray it? I'm talking about a rare and lovely capacity. I'm talking about forgiveness.

A forgiveness, however, that is rather different from the popular sense of that virtue. When the Master Christian provided the focus-point of prayer he crystallized within it the entire religious dimension to forgiveness. "Forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors," he taught. We are being urged to forgive the offender but not the offense. What is this? — To rebuke the offense but to forgive the offender? Such highly cultured response characterizes more than one God-inspired writer. There is no less than cosmic something at the same time impersonal and intimate. Before its rhythm, the deformities of human will dissolve, the collision of human ideologies grows mute. It is a kind of benign glancing of light from that intelligence whose love is the rationale embracing galaxies. Can we speak of cosmic forgiveness?

In the last quarter of this century, it should be possible to make a metaphysical statement without rousing Christian suspicions, to draw from a Christian source without alienating the oriental. The labels are off. There is no more time for sophistry or equivocation. Cosmic forgiveness — divine mercy — belongs to an aristocracy of values on the point of resurfacing through the crises of the age. It is inseparable from self-sacrifice. Self-sac-

rifices is noiseless — whatever religious atmosphere it breathes. So is the ethic of forgiveness out of whose rich silence healing flows. In the heart's light, forgiveness is a glistering initiative. But it has remained a hidden dimension in our insistently secular society. To be noticeably less concerned with wrong than with the kind of love that dissolves it? — this is to define forgiveness in terms of original innocence. The Hebrews wrote of God as settling eternally in man's heart (see Eccl. 3:11 in The Interpreter's Bible). I speak now of your response to that virginal consciousness, that child-heart waiting in you, that precludes all sin, that delights in the beauty of blamelessness spilling from the throat of a bird.

There it is. But what about the other fellow? We cannot separate sickness from the corporate body until we have learnt to separate crime from the criminal, iniquity from the individual. That's love — not stupidity. That's our spiritual investment in a man's innate, unexpressed good. Or believing in someone even when you may be questioning his words and deeds. Religion is full of paradox.

The other day, I came across a definition of "forgiveness" in the Student's Reference Dictionary (an abridged version of the original Webster). It reads in part "not to impute (the offense) to the offender" and "to treat the offender as not guilty." Now that should not sound too remarkable in the light of the concept before us.

Whenever a public figure is being bitterly condemned — however egregious his sin against society — I find myself wondering what this condemning is doing to his accusers. Again, how many mistaken judgments or actions does it take to characterize a life as evil? This is not intended as a case for the defense. I am assuming, but I may be wrong, that it is never the same as saying someone is wrong. And something else. In the contemporary blurring of values, perhaps most insidious is the belief that to forgive the offender is to condone the offense.

No solution to today's crises can really be sought in any value system that keeps ethics separate from religion or continues to confuse forgiveness with repression. The hidden dimension of a higher — yes, cosmic — forgiveness must be rediscovered so that it may open up in the jungle of human "rights" a space for moral beauty.

The survival of our culture depends upon that rediscovery. And we are pioneers together in this quest.

Godfrey John

The Monitor's religious article

Overcoming injustice

I knew I was not at fault. I was obeying every rule of the road when the driver of the other car left his lane of traffic and hit and damaged my car. We exchanged information, and subsequently I obtained estimates of repair costs and submitted a claim for damages to his insurance carrier. In a few weeks I received a check from the insurance company for just half of the repair cost. I telephoned the adjuster to register my objection and was told that I was not completely faultless and hence was being paid only half the total expense.

Then I began to think about justice. I recalled that, as Christian Science teaches, justice is a quality of God. In the Bible we read, "He is excellent in power, and in judgment, and in plenty of justice: he will not afflict." I reasoned that if God, divine Mind, Love, is omnipotent as the Bible states, then all must be subject to His justice, and there can be no power to prevent this justice from being evident in one's daily experience. This understanding, I knew, would operate as a law to correct injustice and bring about a fair and right solution to any problem that might arise.

I again called the insurance adjuster, discussed the matter with him in the light of fairness, and before long I received a check for the balance of the repair cost.

There is no instance when God's law of justice cannot be invoked to correct unfairness and establish what is equitable and good. Our need is to draw closer to God, to perceive more clearly that He is omnipotent, everywhere present, and supremely good. Man — the real, spiritual identity of each one of us — expresses all of God's attributes, including justice, integrity, and wisdom. Evil, the fictitious opposite of God, can have no presence or power and hence is actually nonexistent.

Injustice is the belief that evil can supersede good and that wrong can triumph over right, but these beliefs are overcome by the knowledge of God's power expressed through His laws. Mary Baker Eddy, the Discoverer and Founder of Christian Science, writes, "A selfish and limited mind may be unjust, but the unlimited and divine Mind is the immortal law of justice as well as of mercy." This law is unopposable, irresistible, supreme.

Christ Jesus was subjected to the ultimate of injustice when he was tried, condemned, and crucified. But this did not take from him his conviction of Love's supremacy and allness, which enabled him to say of his persecutors, "Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do." His understanding of his oneness with God enabled Jesus to rise above every claim of injustice and hate and

to prove, through his resurrection, the power of God's law of justice and love.

If we are faced with a situation in which injustice threatens to dominate, we should not be afraid or dismayed. We can realize that there is at hand a divine law that is completely capable of reversing, in our consciousness, the whole situation and establishing justice by manifesting in our affairs the perfection of God's spiritual creation. To the degree that we understand this continually unfolding creation, we will find its concord, intelligence, and goodness evidenced in our lives. We need not — should not — pre-determine just how all this will be accomplished, but should trust God, certain that the result will be in accordance with His will. This is effective prayer.

*Job 37:23; **Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures, p. 36; {Luke 23:34.

Within the closeness of God's family

To feel a natural warmth and affection for all our brothers and sisters as children of God is to be drawn within the encircling love of our divine Parent. The Bible speaks of this bond of universal brotherhood and assures us that we are all the sons and daughters of God. It tells us that God can help us in every circumstance.

A fuller understanding of God is needed to reach to the core of every discord with a healing solution. A book that speaks of the all-goodness of God, His love and His constancy, in clear understandable terms is Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures by Mary Baker Eddy.

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BIBLE VERSE

And God saw every thing that he had made, and, behold, it was very good.

Genesis 1:31

Curiosity

When the spirit,
curious,
goes exploring
into the
unmarked country
of prayer
many wonders
and many riches
come into
light.

Elizabeth Searle Lamb

OPINION AND...

Joseph C. Harsch

Somalia is not Vietnam

President Carter has offered to help the Somalis if they decide to bring their weapons business across to the Western side of the street from Moscow. He has also offered to help Chad and the Sudan.

This is the first time since the collapse of the American venture in Vietnam that Washington has initiated a new and positive operation in power politics. Former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger tried to initiate one in the case of Angola. Congress blocked him. So far, Congress has not objected to this operation which affects the future of the whole of northeast Africa.

Moscow has objected. Izvestia has asserted that the United States is behind the separatist movement in the British part of Ethiopia (which has been backed by the Sudan and Somalia) and is attempting to win Somalia away from the Soviet sphere of influence. Moscow charges that this is an attempt to overthrow "revolutionary" regimes in the Horn of Africa.

Not all of the details of what is actually going on in the Horn of Africa are on the official public record. But essentially, Moscow's charges are correct. The United States is supporting Saudi Arabia in that country's long-term effort to push Soviet influence out of

northeastern Africa. Moscow has got the message. Washington does not want Soviet power astride the oil route from the Persian Gulf to the West.

So far the American role in this operation has largely been to back up Saudi Arabia. But in the latest development the American role has become positive and open. Somalia, the Sudan, and Chad have been invited to ask for Washington's help. And (not new) Washington is working on ways and means of helping Egypt get the weapons in the West which it can no longer get from Moscow.

All of the above seems to have come as something of a shock to persons who thought the United States had gone out of the business of power politics. Obviously, it has not. So the question arises, is this a good or bad thing, a justified or a foolish thing?

The essential point in my opinion is that events in the whole of northeastern Africa and more particularly in Somalia do touch upon important and, I would say, even vital American and West European interests.

The United States today is increasingly dependent on imported oil. Its allies in Western Europe are almost wholly dependent on that source of oil. Until North America and West-

ern Europe develop alternative sources of energy their economic well-being, even their economic survival, depend on a regular and uninterrupted flow of oil coming from a friendly Middle East. I cannot think of any target for American diplomacy having a higher priority right now than the security of the oil line from Middle East to West.

Somalia itself is a minor matter. Its population is about three million, mostly nomadic. Its exports are worth \$54 million a year. Bananas are the largest item. But its geographic location make it of enormous strategic importance. Moscow has been cultivating Somalia for years. Moscow has a naval and air base at Berbera. From Berbera the Soviets can overlook the Gulf of Aden which is the outlet from the Suez Canal and the Red Sea into the Indian Ocean. From Berbera they can also overlook the route of the tankers heading south from the Persian Gulf to the Cape of Good Hope.

The argument for American intervention in Vietnam was the domino theory, i.e., the idea that Chinese and Soviet imperialism would spread from Vietnam throughout Southeast Asia to India, the Middle East and Africa. There was the contributory fact that the

middle and upper classes in Vietnam were Christians. They did not want to come under communist authority.

But there was nothing in the Vietnam condition which even remotely touched the vital national interests of the United States as does Somalia. Vietnam is gone now with no strategic damage. On the contrary, U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam has allowed the natural hostility between China and the Soviet Union to develop — naturally. The United States has gained strategically from getting out of Vietnam. It would be disadvantaged by a Soviet political and military position on the Horn of Africa.

In other words, it seems to me that the United States has logical and proper reasons of national self-interest for doing precisely what Moscow accuses it of doing. It is trying to repel Soviet influence from northeast Africa. It is offering to help Somalia, not because of love for the Somalis, but because the economic well-being of the United States and of its allies is involved.

This is not a case like Vietnam where the reasons for intervention were ideological, emotional, and humanistic. This is a case of plain, simple national interest.

The sounds of summer

Melvin Maddocks

In the summer we wake up, listening. It is as if the ear has been waiting all night for the particular announcements of a summer's morning. The "bobwhite" call of a quail — as limpid as bird-song can be. The distant first bark of a farm dog, a half-mile away. The rustle of a tree outside a bedroom window, shuffling its full complement of August leaves.

Sound is not seasonal. But in the winter sound is so insulated, so muffled by snow and storm windows that one seems to hear everything from two rooms away. In the summer the ear hears a twig snap across a lake as if the hand could reach out and touch the splintered wood.

Even in the city summer sounds have a clarity, an edge. The early-morning footsteps fall on the sidewalk with a special precision. An old car starts, and the ear distinguishes the individual clatter of each valve, or so it thinks.

In the summer, furthermore, everything seems to convey itself as sound, even heat — that hum-and-shimmer which are one. And when, to escape the heat, the listener plunges himself in water, what unearthly sounds await him (a fathom down! There is, of course, the child's trick of two stones clicked together — a sound as distinct, as three-dimensional as the stones themselves. But the true underwater sound is a mere pulsing; a

sound so subtly acute it seems interior. The pure oom of being. Sound aspiring to be silence and almost succeeding except for this wet whisper, this echo of an echo.

Is it the subliminal sound of summer? Familiar sounds are altered by summer, as a picture is changed by its frame. Out of doors, on a summer night, for instance, all music tends to be romantic. Woodwinds are quite literally in their element, and violinists bow all over our heartstrings. Everything this side of Schönberg sounds like program music for "A Midsummer Night's Dream." Alas, almost any cheap effect will do.

In the summer we find out how directly the ear is plugged into the emotions. And in addition to hearing more intensely we see more intensely too — all outline and primary colors. Then there are the other senses. We are suffused in fragrances; we are assailed by flavors.

Is this intimacy between the ear and the summer world around it just a general sign then that we are more alive when we take off our mittens and stocking caps, open our doors and windows, and taste food as it

comes fresh from the earth instead of the freezer? Are we simply saying that in the summer, led by the ear, we all become Latins?

But the hot-weather ear is more than merely supersensuous. There goes with the sound-savoring a sense of range, extended. In the summer one feels able to hear more exactly and at greater distances — above and perhaps below one's normal capacities. No high-decibel shriek, no low-decibel moan from the universe will escape detection. The summer ear is ready as never before for whatever message the world is packaging in code. The summer ear is on a frontier, cocked for a sound just beyond the sensory. The summer ear represents the senses trying to escape themselves, like a plane at takeoff pressing into the ground furiously in order to leave it.

The only sound that seems diminished and less effective in the summer is language. Words, the best words, hang in the air like wax flowers. Words? Who needs them on an August evening when even the grass seems to talk? What is there to explain?

In the summer, and perhaps only in the summer, the paradox becomes a statement of fact: Language is sound that longs ultimately for its own silence. We are back under water with the oom.

Taiwan's 'right to exist'

By Ray S. Cline

In sorrow, not in anger, I must take exception to the most venerable of American sinologists, Harvard's John K. Fairbank, concerning his policy recommendations on China. Fairbank argues for what he himself calls "political myth" — the "One China ideal" — ignoring the evident reality that there are two Chinas, two governments in effective control of people and territory, one the Communist dictatorship on the mainland and the other, the U.S.-ally, on the island of Taiwan.

This extraordinary plea to accept as United States foreign policy the "One China myth" is based on the argument that "Peking's legitimacy cannot be finally established as long as Taipei keeps on claiming to be the true 'One China.'" There is no explanation of why it is either America's right or in its interest to confer such legitimacy on Peking when it has not been able to win it for itself in the face of the determined self-defense of the 17 million U.S.-oriented, democratic-minded Chinese on Taiwan.

Fairbank, writing in the New York Times recently, simply says the U.S. must accept Peking's harsh "three conditions" — which he correctly summarizes as "no more recognition of the rival Republic of China, no security treaty with it, no American military in Taiwan" — not because these are sound steps in pursuit of America's own interest but because Peking demands it. If the Carter administration does so, it would be the first instance in

which the United States let its clear-cut treaty obligations to an ally be overridden by a decision to bow to the dictate of a foreign government.

Proponents of this capitulation to Peking try to have their cake and eat it by saying, as Fairbank does, that the Chinese society on the island of Taiwan "will survive by its own vitality" and American trade, investment, travel and cultural contact with Taiwan "will go on." But this is a fantasy.

If the United States withdraws its recognition, its military presence and its defense treaty commitment, the flourishing society in Taiwan will be dealt a body blow which will surely in time be fatal. Once the U.S. Government says legally that the 17 million Chinese on Taiwan are only a province of the "One China" controlled by the People's Republic of China in Peking, the PRC will begin turning the screws on nations and individual business firms to boycott trade with Taiwan or channel it through Peking.

These pressures are being applied now but are unsuccessful because of the security provided by the U.S. relationship. The truly miraculous economic vitality of Taiwan cannot last more than three years of boycott and blackmail once the United States gives up its legal rights to protect the people of Taiwan. Any "tacit guarantees" from Peking would be worthless in international law, and the U.S.

strategic investment in Taiwan could no longer be legally protected.

In these circumstances the political stability of the Republic of China could not help but be undermined, particularly because it depends so much on the managerial skills of the small group of strongly pro-U.S. officials, led by Prime Minister Chiang Ching-kuo, who now govern the island so well. This group of officials has subordinated all policy considerations and the strategic interests of the United States in the western Pacific. The pro-American leadership in Taiwan is bound to be discredited and weakened by a calculated U.S. move to discard a loyal ally in compliance with the three conditions laid down in Peking.

Most Chinese in the Republic of China now think the Americans would be too proud as well as too honorable to make this move; if they should prove to be wrong, the injury to morale and confidence in the future of the Republic of China will be incalculable. The Chinese in Taiwan see themselves as a showcase of political freedom and economic progress, and like any small nation under attack, they believe they have a "right to exist."

It will make a deep and unfavorable impression throughout Asia if the U.S. abandons its commitment in order to please Chinese Communist leaders like Kuo Teng and Teng Hsiao-chang, who bring breath of life to the imagination can be construed as fundamentally friendly toward

political freedom, human rights, or the United States.

The only claim the PRC has on the U.S. is that its government is anti-Soviet, and that is only because it now fears the U.S.S.R. more than the United States, the other superpower which Peking also routinely denounces. In fact, in view of its military and economic weaknesses, Peking needs Washington much more than the other way around. Why, then, people around the world are bound to ask, should the Carter administration yield to Peking's demand that the U.S. place in jeopardy the Republic of China, one of the major nations of the world — among the 40 largest in population — in the cause of conferring "legitimacy" on an oppressive regime that established itself on the mainland purely by military force?

The right answer is plainly for the U.S. to recognize facts — to recognize two Chinas de facto on the basis of the populations and territory they now effectively control. This may make neither Chinese regime entirely happy, but it would leave the more extravagant claims of both regimes to be settled by history in the fulness of time, not by the U.S. State Department or White House. The stability of East Asia would be undisturbed and American policy on China would reflect realities, not myth, cherished in Peking.

Mr. Cline, former deputy director of CIA, is executive director of studies at Georgetown University's Center for Strategic and International Studies.

COMMENTARY

Should U.S. go for the cruise missile?

Yes

By Robert L. Pfaltzgraff Jr. and Jacquelyn A. Davis

With the decision of the Carter administration to forgo deployment of the B-1, the United States has become heavily dependent on the air-launched cruise missile to preserve the triad of forces (bombers, submarine-launched ballistic missiles, and the land-based Minuteman force), upon which U.S. strategic doctrine is based, and to stem the erosion of U.S. capabilities in the face of a relentless buildup in Soviet military power.

The emerging generation of U.S. cruise missiles has benefited from revolutionary advances in miniaturization, propulsion systems, airframe designs, guidance technologies and warhead configurations.

Because of their potentially high accuracy, and with their flexibility with regard to deployment modes, cruise missiles would provide the United States, in the early 1980s with a strategic retaliatory capability for use against Soviet targets that have been reinforced (hardened) in the large-scale active and passive defense programs mounted by the Soviet Union in recent years.

Land-attack cruise missiles, deployed aboard ships assigned to NATO, allied aircraft, and tracked vehicle launchers could augment the defense/deterrence of Western Europe, contributing the single most important potential application of U.S. cruise missile technology.

Deployed on land-based platforms, cruise missiles could attack fixed targets far behind enemy lines, such as supply depots, troop staging areas, and airfields — all of which would need to be destroyed at the outset of a Warsaw Pact attack against NATO. Deep interdiction missions for which manned aircraft are now used might be assumed by cruise missiles, thus freeing tactical air power for missions such as close air support of NATO forces and control of the air spaces over Western and Central Europe.

Thus the cruise missile has emerged as an important alliance concern which could become a deeply divisive issue within NATO if the United States were to barter away the cruise missile in a bilateral forum such as the SALT. This would be the case if, for example, range limitations were placed on cruise missiles which effectively barred their use for deep interdiction behind Warsaw Pact lines.

Notwithstanding the strategic/military potential of the cruise missile, and despite its announced support of the air-launched cruise missile, the Carter administration has apparently been prepared to consider, for the sake of détente, limitations on the cruise missile at the SALT.

No

By David Linebaugh

President Carter's decision to deploy the long-range air-launched cruise missile, announced at a press conference on June 30, may have a shattering effect on efforts to curb the nuclear arms race and to repair United States relations with the Soviet Union.

1. The nuclear arms race will acquire a fourth dimension. The U.S. strategic force will be expanded from a triad (land-based ballistic missiles, sea-based ballistic missiles, and bombers) to a tetrad (these three elements plus the cruise missile). The U.S. will have added an entirely new weapons system to its strategic force, not simply a replacement weapon. The President has repeatedly said that he wants to eliminate nuclear weapons from the earth. But this decision will take us in exactly the opposite direction.

2. Deployment of the cruise missile will result in a significant increase in the numbers of nuclear weapons. The day after the President announced the decision, Secretary of Defense Harold Brown said the new missile may be put on as many as 250 B-52 bombers. That could mean the deployment of 5,000 of these weapons — or more American nuclear weapons of this one type than the total number of nuclear weapons in Russia's entire strategic arsenal.

3. The shelving of the B-1 bomber will stimulate the deployment of another new weapon, the mobile land-based missile known as M-X. Just below the surface in Washington the momentum for M-X surges forward. The argument for M-X will seem compelling: the increasing vulnerability of U.S. land-based missiles and the possible demise of the U.S. bomber force make essential the deployment of a new invulnerable mobile missile. The development of the M-X missile will be the high cost of shelving the B-1 bomber.

4. The military "advantages" of the cruise missile will be fleeting. As with the MIRV, the Russians too will soon master the technology of this weapon. Both sides will then be less secure. Cruise missiles in, for example, the torpedo tubes of Soviet attack submarines will be a formidable threat to the multitude of urban and industrial targets near the coast of America.

5. The problem of verifying limitations on cruise missiles could mean the end of strategic arms limitation agreements. The United States is developing two types of cruise missiles. One is designed for air launch only (the ALCM) and one is designed for launch from the ground, sea, or air (the Tomahawk). Both weapons are small and easy to hide, and limitations on them, especially the Tomahawk, may present

insuperable verification problems. Congress and the public need to know more from the administration on this issue. Will cruise-missile limitations be verifiable? If not, should the U.S. not seek Soviet agreement to ban this weapon altogether, for this reason alone?

President Carter has made a decision of great consequence: Stay ahead of the Russians — this time with the cruise missile — rather than attempt to limit the Russians at the cost of limiting the U.S.

In a speech on policy toward the Soviet Union on July 21, the President said the deployment of the cruise missile would counter the growing Soviet threat to the U.S. deterrent. As a result of U.S. deployment of the cruise missile, the Russians will need to counter the growing American threat. And then we will need to counter the Russian counter. And then...

The President's negotiating tactics have been puzzling. In February he said his decision on the B-1 bomber would depend in part on whether the Russians exercise restraint in arms. But in June the President's decision to shelve the B-1 was made without reference to the question of Soviet arms restraint. Similarly, the President's decision to deploy the cruise missile was made solely in terms of cost effectiveness and military effectiveness. No attempt was made to use decisions on the B-1 bomber and the cruise missile to bargain with the Russians.

In a July 1 press conference, Secretary of Defense Brown said, "The constraints we accept [in a SALT agreement] must not harm our strategic capability. . . ." But if we concede the same inviolability to the Soviet strategic force as Mr. Brown demands for the American, is there any inducement, or point, to SALT?

The deployment of the cruise missile will broaden and intensify the nuclear arms race with the Soviet Union and, because of the problem of verifying limitations on the cruise missile, its deployment could even undermine the basis for strategic arms agreements.

More than a speech by the President, like the one he gave on July 21, is needed to avert these consequences. Mr. Carter needs to reexamine his decision. The effort to stop the nuclear arms race and to mollerate relations with Russia may depend on it.

Mr. Linebaugh, currently a visiting scholar at the Brookings Institution, was a deputy assistant director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

Why Spain belongs in NATO

By Richard Mowrer

Spain should be invited to join NATO without delay. For these reasons:

1. Having achieved a remarkably smooth transition from dictatorship to democracy, Spain now stands as a model for the Atlantic alliance. Past arguments that the Spaniards must be excluded because of their authoritarian regime, and because General Francisco Franco helped Hitler during World War II, no longer apply.

2. Under Franco the country became linked to the West's defense complex through military association with the United States; the air-forces agreement of 1953. But the American presence has never been popular and is likely to be less so in the future. Rightly or wrongly many Spaniards believe that the American connection propped up and prolonged Franco's harsh rule. The day may not be far off when the American military will be asked to leave. Indeed, they have been told to close down the nuclear submarine base at Rota by 1979.

3. For strategic reasons the Russians would like to see Spain go neutral. They can be expected to fan neutralist sentiment in the country at every opportunity. The Soviets' first move to neutralize Spain came last November when they proposed that neither NATO nor the Warsaw Pact alliance should be enlarged.

Spain has an army of 220,000 men, an adequate air force and a small navy, modernized to a considerable extent with United States aid. But Spain's importance to NATO is its geographic location: straddling the Mediterranean and Atlantic approaches to the vital strategic Strait of Gibraltar.

It should not be assumed that Spain will jump at the chance to join NATO if asked. Opposition to the idea is not negligible. The country's second largest party, the Socialist Workers' Party which made a powerful showing in the recent national elections, is hostile to both NATO membership and the bilateral link with the United States. The Socialist's view will have to be taken into account by the center-right government of Adolfo Suarez.

Elsewhere it is argued that Spain has more to lose than to gain by joining NATO: it would cost \$500 million to bring the Spanish forces up to NATO standards whereas the basic deal with America under the current five-year extension provides \$1.2 billion in aid. So why not forget NATO and simply retain the American link?

What Spain does not now have, and would have if it joined NATO, is a blanket guarantee of immediate military assistance if attacked. Over the years Spanish negotiators have sought, and failed to get, this security guaran-

tee from the Americans. With NATO membership the gap would be closed.

Would this be enough to win over the Spaniards? Possibly not. But what might well tip the balance in favor of NATO would be the return to Spain of the Rock of Gibraltar. The two-and-a-quarter square mile territory was seized by the British in 1704 and held by them ever since despite Spanish efforts to get it back.

In the referendum in 1967 the Rock's inhabitants were asked if they would like Gibraltar to become part of Spain or remain British. The Gibraltarians voted 12,128 to 44 to stay British. Their argument then was that they would lose their democratic freedoms if Spain annexed Gibraltar. But today, with Franco gone and Spain embracing democracy, this thesis no longer holds.

The invitation to join NATO should come from the alliance's European member states which ostracized Spain in the Franco years, not from the United States.

The offer, accepted or not, at least would have the merit of giving the Spanish people the recognition and encouragement they deserve for a job well done with no help from anybody: the building of a new, democratic Spain.

Mr. Mowrer was formerly the Monitor's special correspondent in Madrid.

Readers write

The neutron bomb

The neutron bomb, proposed by our government, which destroys human life while preserving buildings, is the ultimate affront to a God which is Spirit and is expressed in the human lives of our potential enemies as well as in our lives. In our silent assent to this weapon, we blaspheme. What is worse, we fasten the heritage of this blasphemy on our children. In my heart, I renounce this weapon and all of its breed for myself and for my children. It is better that we should be killed in the body than be corrupted in the spirit.

Somerville, Mass. Hubert M. Nicholson

We invite readers' letters for this column. Of course we cannot answer every one, and some are condensed before publication, but thoughtful comments are welcome. Letters should be addressed to: The Christian Science Monitor, International Edition, One Norway Street, Boston, MA 02115.

The most gladsome thing in the world is that few of us fall very low; the saddest that, with such capabilities, we seldom rise high.

— James Matthew Barrie